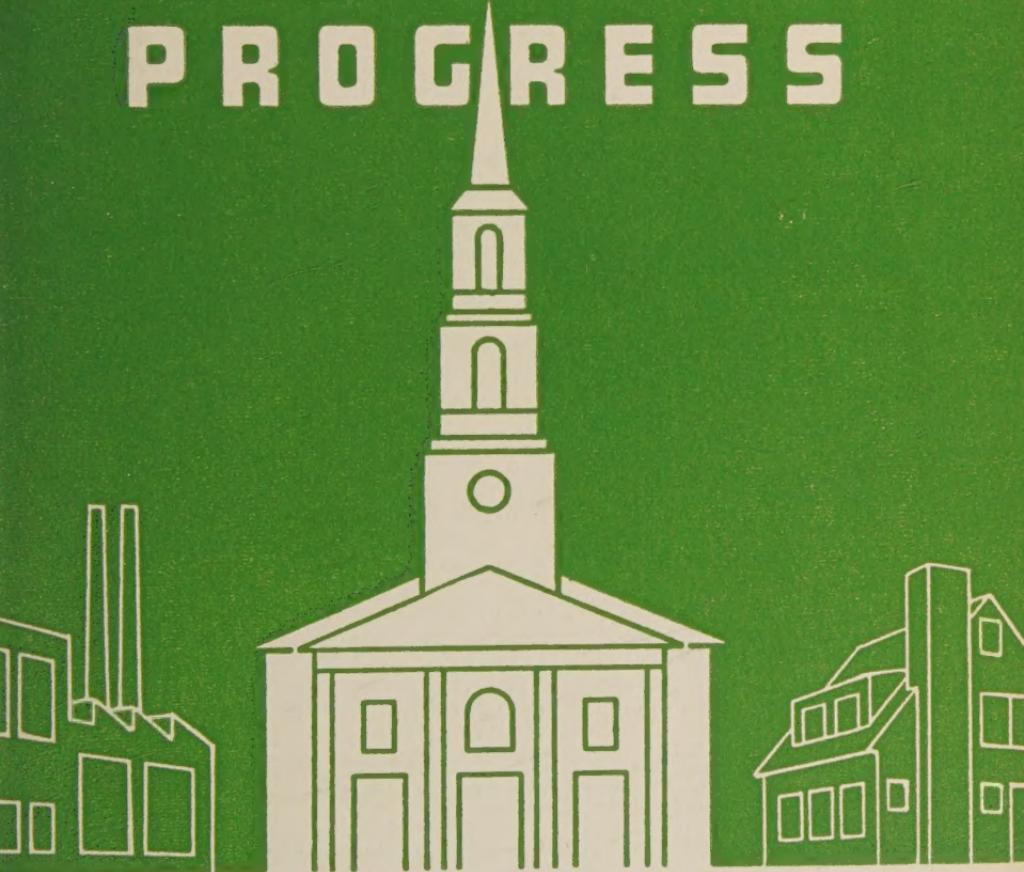


SOCIAL PROGRESS



The Labor-Management Conference
The Good News of Damnation
Alcohol and Education

SEPTEMBER 1947

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PAUL N. POLING, *Editor*

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The Labor-Management Conference as an Aid to Collective Bargaining

*By George W. Taylor **

THE union member who came into my office was deeply troubled by what had transpired at the meeting of his labor organization the night before. He had eagerly joined in the unanimous approval of a program of union "demands" which was staggering even in days when wage increases of 18½ cents "across the board" are commonplace. He had joined with his fellows in authorizing the union officers to call an immediate strike if the employer refused to accept the employee demands. The new terms of employment were not being proposed "for bargaining purposes"; they were to be offered on an "or else" basis. "Our demands are for improved conditions which I would certainly like to have and sincerely believe I should have," said the union member, "but before approving them I sure wish I could have known what problems the employer would face in granting them. Maybe we're reaching for the moon. But, anyway, we're now way out on a limb."

It so happens that the employer in this particular case would have wel-

comed an opportunity to explore with the union the many problems confronting him and his employees in their quest for steady operations at good wages. A mutual understanding with respect to many common problems could undoubtedly have been arrived at before an unalterable position had been taken and before a work stoppage had been virtually assured.

Many an employer looks upon collective bargaining primarily as a process by which "concessions" are grudgingly made but which does not involve any joint consideration of the economics of the industry or of competitive necessities. Such matters are held to be "not subject to collective bargaining." Some employers even consider a stoppage of production preferable to any joint appraisal of business trends and prospects.

It Takes Two to Make a Bargain

The widespread disillusionment over the efficacy of free collective bargaining as the cornerstone of the national labor policy is of grave concern to everyone who believes that understanding and co-operation between conflicting groups are essential to ensure the survival of our kind of

* Professor of industry, University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Taylor has served as impartial chairman in many phases of industry. Reprinted with permission from *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1947.

society. Why are the agreement-making possibilities of collective bargaining not being more fully realized? Are organized labor and management inherently unwilling or unable to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them under collective bargaining freely to work out their problems in their own way by negotiation, compromise, and agreement? The answers which the future will give to these questions will largely determine how extensive a role the Government will have to assume in the conduct of industrial relations and in the operation of business. The degree of labor-management co-operation which develops is consequently of urgent importance, not only to the parties directly affected, but to all those who are concerned about the chances of preserving a democratic society.

Labor-Management Conferences

Labor-management conferences offer opportunity for meeting priority needs. In the remainder of this article, particular reference is made to two selected kinds of labor-management conferences through which constructive results have been attained in realizing the agreement-making potentialities of collective bargaining. The one type is the pre-negotiation conference to explore matters of mutual interest; the other is the national labor-management meeting designed to produce understandings regarding basic policies.

The Prenegotiation Conference

A short time ago, several hundred business representatives and officials of the local unions operating in a major industrial area met together as part of a so-called workers' educational program. In evaluating the reasons why collective bargaining had not worked out more satisfactorily, there was an apparent unanimity of opinion that lack of information was of principal importance. One speaker seemed most adequately to sum up the general point of view in saying: "I have been the principal negotiating officer working with the same management of a company for almost ten years. In all that time, I have never had a meeting with the company except to settle a crisis after firm positions had been taken by both sides. Why does the management refuse to sit down with us at times when no big problems are on the table and when we could talk things over in general with a view to understanding each other better?"

Such conferences are actually a *sine qua non* of "genuine" collective bargaining. Fears for union security and management security can become dissipated only as understanding and mutual respect are developed by "talking the situation over." Differences in positions can be narrowed and the probability of agreement can be materially increased by prenegotiation conferences. At such meetings, moreover, the "factual approach" to problems of mutual in-

terest can be made more easily than after unalterable positions have been taken. To the extent that common agreement can be gained respecting the facts of the situation, an understanding at a later time concerning the terms of employment becomes more readily attainable. A modern philosopher has observed that men cannot disagree about a fact; they can only be ignorant of it.

The possibility of developing a collective bargaining based upon mutual respect and understanding, as well as upon a factual foundation, is closely related to the use of prenegotiation labor-management conferences. They can be conducted to permit an objective examination of matters of mutual interest at a time when neither party is attempting to get something from the other. If joint relations are conducted as a series of tactical maneuvers and as a way of positioning for a conflict, negotiations are endangered from the start, and the chances for peace are small. The wide use of the prenegotiation conference is characteristic of a labor-management relationship dedicated to the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The National Conference

The national conference between outstanding representatives of labor and of management is another way of facilitating the agreement-making function of collective bargaining. It has been used only to a limited ex-

tent and with conflicting results. Yet, one of the most momentous and important labor policies ever formulated in the United States was by voluntary agreement at the National Labor-Management Conference held in December, 1941. A mutual understanding laid the solid foundation for the national labor policy which prevailed throughout World War II and contributed so heavily to the full mobilization of the civilian resources for war. No adequate substitute for that labor-management agreement could have been devised. The full strength of understanding and agreement was brought to bear when the no-strike, no-lockout pledge was given.

A Voluntary Guarantee

Subsequent efforts to secure broad policy agreements between labor and management have been, on the whole, disappointing. Early in 1945 responsible officials of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the United States Chamber of Commerce sought to create a labor-management charter in which fundamental industrial relations principles would be agreed upon. By defining areas of general agreement, it was hoped that the possibilities for disagreement and industrial warfare would be minimized.

The charter conference was held
(Continued on page 19)

The Good News of Damnation—

The Message of the Atom

*By Robert M. Hutchins **

THE good news of damnation is the news of the atomic bomb.

Let me tell you what we all know.

1. There is no defense against the atomic bomb. The only defense is not to be there when it goes off.
2. In a war in which both sides have atomic bombs the cities of both sides will be destroyed.
3. Since one to ten atomic bombs can reduce any city in the world to ashes, it will not help us much to have more atomic bombs than an enemy country.
4. Superiority in land, sea, and air forces will mean little. The atomic bomb is a weapon directed against civilians. The economy which supports the military can be wiped out before the military can get started.
5. Our monopoly of the atomic bomb cannot last more than five years.

It is obvious, though perhaps not so well known, that future bombs will be cheaper, bigger, and better. It is a fair guess that greater emphasis will be laid in the future on the radioactive rays than on the production of a blast. The radioactivity from Bikini reached the United States in detectable strength in the space of one week. If it were possible to increase the radioactivity one hundred thousand or a million times, an

enemy could make the United States uninhabitable by dropping a bomb or two off the Pacific Coast. A bomb of the kind we have now, planted at the bottom of New York harbor, might cover the city with lethal spray if it exploded when the wind was right. Some indication of the present power of the radioactivity developed by the bomb is given by the second Bikini test, where ships were contaminated within a radius of a mile and a quarter. The Joint Chiefs of Staff Evaluation Board said, "The contaminated ships became radioactive stoves and would have burned all living things aboard them with invisible and painless but deadly radiation."

Agreements for the international control of atomic energy, which are absolutely imperative, will merely guarantee, if they are effective, that the next war will end with atomic bombs instead of beginning with them. If these agreements are ineffective, they will simply increase the value of the element of surprise which the atomic bomb has added to the arsenal of the aggressor.

But let us suppose that in some way or other we avoid another major war. What is going to happen to us then?

* Chancellor, University of Chicago.

The use of atomic energy for heat, power, and light is just around the corner. There are no technical and scientific difficulties of any consequence in the way. If the Army had acted on the proposal of the University of Chicago when it was made, I believe that out in Palos Park we could have put on a large-scale demonstration of the use of atomic energy for commercial power by last May. The Army finally decided to conduct this experiment at Oak Ridge, and I have no doubt that it will have succeeded by next May.

We cannot expect atomic energy to replace at once the ordinary sources of industrial power in existing industrial areas. But I would call your attention to the fact that the cost of transporting the materials from which atomic energy is made is negligible. This means that the location of communities and industries need no longer be determined by the location of sources of power. You can start industries or communities—which, incidentally, could be free from smoke—anywhere in the world, on the polar icecap or in the heart of the Congo. When we consider what the location of coal mines and water power has meant in the location of industries and cities throughout the world, we can understand the proportions of the industrial and social revolution which atomic energy is about to usher in. We may expect the rapid industrialization of parts of the world plentiful in raw materials but

lacking in coal, oil, or water power. We may expect the development of new industries and new communities. This will be accompanied by the disintegration of old communities, particularly those whose chief reason for existence is their proximity to old-fashioned sources of power. These dislocations will be accompanied by great insecurity. An economy based on work and scarcity will be giving way before one based on leisure and abundance.

You may admit that this is news, and news that ought to be on page one everyday; and you may, with some propriety, ask, "Why is it good?"

In theology the utility of the doctrine of damnation is that it may frighten us into doing what we know we should be doing anyway. We know we ought to behave ourselves; but it is not always pleasant to do it. The news of damnation tells us, in dramatic, spectacular fashion, how extremely unpleasant it will be for us if we do not do it.

Unfortunately the good news of damnation arrives a little late. After centuries of misconduct we now have about five years in which to learn how to behave ourselves. But learning how to behave ourselves is the only defense against the atomic bomb.

You may well ask how we can get other people to behave themselves. If our hearts are changed, and those of the Russians are not, we shall

merely have the satisfaction of being blown up with changed hearts rather than unchanged ones. I do not expect an American audience to have sufficient faith in the immortality of the soul to regard this as more than a dubious consolation. Here is where the power of example is still valid. When other nations have atomic bombs, we are at every disadvantage in trying to make them behave themselves by force. We are more vulnerable than they. Our hope lies in the processes of education at home and abroad.

World government, if it is to last, must rest upon world community. A community rests on communication. This means more than radio, telephones, telegraph, and movies. It requires a common stock of ideas and ideals. Civilization, in fact, is nothing but the deliberate pursuit of a common humanity of all members of the community.

If we want peace, then, we must work for a community which shall embrace all men. What is the common tradition in which, whether we know it or not, we all live? I should like tentatively to endorse the suggestion of the delegate from Lebanon to the United Nations, who said that the common bond and the common tradition were most clearly revealed in the great works of the human mind and spirit. He suggested that, if all the peoples of the earth could unite in the study of these great works, a world community might arise.

Plainly the task before us, and it is colossal, is an educational task. We have to educate everybody of every age, at home and abroad. And we have five years, more or less, in which to do it. It looks hopeless, but it is not so bad as it seems. In the first place, we do not know what education can accomplish, because we have never tried it. The first thing we should do is to stop wasting our time on vocational training and the frivolities of the so-called colleges of liberal arts. In the second place, the means of communication are now so numerous, rapid, and cheap that, if we have anything to communicate, we can communicate it to the ends of the earth more easily than our ancestors could have communicated it from Chicago to Cleveland. Horace Mann established the American common school in Massachusetts a hundred years ago. As William B. Benton pointed out at the Unesco conference in Paris last month, Horace Mann must have had more trouble in getting in touch with Pittsfield from Boston than he would now have in reaching London, Calcutta, or Moscow.

In the third place, we have to develop something to communicate that is worth communicating. We must, of course, spread the good news of damnation. But in addition we must provide an education for our students that offers some hope of laying the foundation of a world community.

Alcohol and Education

*By Kenneth F. Weaver **

IN THE shadow of the atomic bomb it is difficult for the American citizen to view many of his problems in proper perspective. He is worried about the bitter struggle for power on the international front, the failures of the United Nations, and the possibilities of future war. His anxieties are not decreased by threats of economic recession at home. Alcohol as a problem may not loom very large to this average American.

To the minister, the judge, the doctor, and the social worker, however, it is a different story. To these professional people, alcohol is seen as a daily problem, a problem that affects the entire nation and in some respects increases year by year.

What do we *know* about the effects of the use of alcoholic beverages in American life today? Actually, most of us know far less than we think. To begin with, we speak of "the problem of alcohol" when we mean "the problem of drinking." It is excessive drinking of alcoholic beverages that plays so great a role in many social problems.

Moreover, most discussions about alcohol are filled with superstitions, prejudices, and mistakes. The lack of real understanding about alcohol and alcoholism is perhaps the most

serious obstacle to an intelligent attack on the problem. Partly, this is true because the right kind of research has been lacking on the subject until recent years.

Now there are many agencies in America that are carrying on research, the best-known perhaps being the Laboratory of Applied Physiology at Yale University. Since 1941, when the Laboratory established the Section of Alcohol Studies, it has been examining this problem in all its phases—sociological, legal, economic, physiological, and medical. Tremendous gains in scientific knowledge have resulted, but only gradually are these findings translated into public knowledge.

Let us examine some of the basic facts about alcohol and drinking disclosed by these investigations. They indicate clearly the magnitude of the problem we are discussing.

1. Approximately two thirds of the adults in the United States use alcoholic beverages at times. Moreover, alcoholic beverages are used in all segments of the population, although more heavily in urban than in rural groups. The proportion of drinkers to nondrinkers appears to be on the increase.

2. Although the use of alcoholic beverages is a well-established folkway in American life, nine out of

* Director, Public Relations, Allied Youth, Inc., Washington, D. C.

ten Americans disapprove of excessive drinking. Three out of ten take a stand for total abstinence.

3. Of those persons who do drink, an estimated four million are excessive drinkers, and of these at least three quarters of a million are chronic alcoholics. It is now recognized by the medical profession—but not by most laymen—that alcoholism is a disease and must be treated as such.

4. The effects of immoderation are more drastic in this age of mechanization than they were formerly. Approximately a fifth of all automobile accidents may be traced to drinking, and drinking is the biggest single factor responsible for such accidents.

5. Alcohol probably does not play a big part in most professional crime. The professional criminal knows better than to drink while working. However, in public-nuisance behavior such as disorderly conduct, and in most cases of petty assault, alcohol is a direct and major factor.

6. The role of alcohol in juvenile delinquency is important though often misunderstood. Youngsters become delinquents as a rule because of neglect in their homes, and alcohol is frequently involved in this neglect. It is not easy to demonstrate that young people become juvenile delinquents because they drink; more often it is the other way around.

7. Inebriety costs the American people anywhere from one billion to

several billion dollars annually. The sum includes expenditures for maintaining drunks in jails and treating them in hospitals and mental institutions, costs of crime and accidents, absenteeism, and potential wage losses. However, any such figure becomes irrelevant when weighed against the human misery and loss of human values involved in inebriety.

These, of course, are only a few selected facts and in no way do they represent a comprehensive statement about the problems of alcoholic beverages. But they do make clear that the problem is a serious one for the school, the Church, and the community. And they indicate that any amelioration calls for exhaustive study and honest thinking, even if that means shedding some obsolete though favorite notions.

What can be done about the problem? Many people see that the most effective solution is through education—especially the education of young people. Adults with drinking habits already well established do not change readily, but adolescents with plastic, idealistic minds are more easily influenced.

The group that has followed this particular educational approach most consistently and most effectively is Allied Youth, an alcohol education organization working from Washington, D. C. Nonsectarian and nonpolitical, this group does not seek legislation of any sort,

but works instead to help high-school students to realize that "it's not smart to drink!" In addition, it publishes a variety of educational materials based on the findings of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies.

When Dr. Daniel A. Poling founded Allied Youth sixteen years ago, it was recognized that the fight to keep prohibition was lost. A new goal was adopted—that of persuading young people to abstain voluntarily from the use of alcoholic beverages. Today, after ten years of working directly in high schools, Allied Youth has local high-school groups, or posts, in twenty-eight states and in Canada and Hawaii.

Chief credit for this record goes to W. Roy Breg, Executive Secretary of Allied Youth since its beginning. Starting from scratch, he has secured the support of educators such as Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur; religious leaders such as Dr. John R. Mott; business leaders such as J. C. Penney—all of whom are on the Board of Trustees. Also on the board is Dr. E. M. Jellinek, Director of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies.

Financially, the program has been so successful that Allied Youth not long ago was able to move into its own headquarters building at 1709 M Street, N. W., in Washington. Free of debt, the organization is now expanding rapidly and placing new regional secretaries in the field.

Roy Breg has spoken to well over a million students in more than 1,600

schools and colleges throughout the country. He simply tells young people how the Allied Youth idea works and how it can help to solve the problem of drinking in their personal lives or in their school and community.

The enthusiastic response of young people to this approach demonstrates that they are more concerned about the problem of drinking than their elders suspect. In Kenmore, New York Breg was told that the young people would not like his remarks. Yet after the address 1,025 of 1,500 students returned to the assembly hall to discuss organization of an Allied Youth post for their school.

The Allied Youth idea is simple. It involves, first of all, alcohol education through discussion and study at post meetings. This is based on the belief that if young people are to make wise decisions about drinking, they must know the facts.

Secondly, it involves alcohol-free recreation and social activities sponsored by the post. This fellowship means much to the young person who has found the social pressure to drink hard to resist when he stands alone.

Finally, Allied Youth works for the growth of well-integrated personalities among young people, the development of character, and the building of citizenship. Only as the problem of drinking is related to the total personality of the individual can the educational program succeed.

A People's Section for the United Nations

*By Carlyle Morgan**

AMONG movements to support the United Nations few if any have covered so much territory in so short a time as that known as the "People's Section for the United Nations." It has branches or members in half the states of the Union and supporters in Europe and Asia. Why has it grown so fast and reached so far? What constitutes its strong appeal for peace-seeking communities and individuals?

It is a starkly simple appeal.

The People's Section aims to provide a closer tie between the people—between individuals—and the United Nations organization than was provided by the UN Charter. Ultimately, indeed, it seeks to establish a basis for membership of individuals, of people, in the United Nations. Under the Charter, as all students of that document know, direct membership is now reserved for Governments.

The beginnings of the People's Section movement were as simple as the idea itself. Late in December of 1946, I wrote an article for the Magazine Section of *The Christian Science Monitor*, which began: "Dear UN: I want to join. I am only one citizen of a country of 135,000,000. My country is a member of the

United Nations. That's good. But why can't I be a member too?"

A few days after publication of that article my desk was piled with letters. They had come from several states, and from Canada. More were to follow, from all parts of the United States, from Europe, from India. All these people wanted to be, as I had suggested, members of the UN—of a People's Section of the UN.

The objective was this: to set up within the UN organization a second assembly, to which delegates would be elected by the people—or, short of that; to establish an Office of the People's Section in the UN which would represent the members of a great international organization of people supporting the UN in all practicable ways, even to the payment of dues.

Let me stress at this point the novelty of this idea. It is important to do this so that the difference between this movement and others supporting the UN, or working toward world citizenships, or toward world federation, or for peace in general, will be clear.

Ordinarily, it would not be thought feasible to provide membership for individuals in a world organization of the kind developed in the UN Charter. This is a league—a

* Assistant Chief Editorial Writer for *The Christian Science Monitor*; chairman of the People's Section for the United Nations.

league of nations. League members throughout history have been states, not individuals. Efforts to bring the peoples into leagues usually have had as their purpose the transformation of the league into a world government.

I believed that to attempt to transform the UN into a world government in this troubled period of history might only result in wrecking the UN without achieving a better alternative. So I proposed that People's memberships should entitle them to representation in an assembly whose powers would be strictly advisory and at all points limited in such a way as to avoid infringement of the rule of national sovereignty which underlies the UN.

The initial response to the idea did not die down. From week to week I printed in a column which I write for *The Christian Science Monitor* indications of the progress of the People's Section, along with letters and replies to them, discussing various technical phases of the organization of movement to promote a People's Section.

These attracted wide attention. The *Reader's Scope* reprinted the original article in which I had asked for a UN membership, and one of its readers asked permission to make and distribute reprints of the article. Clark M. Eichelberger, Director of the American Association for the United Nations, heard of the idea and came to Boston to discuss it. Out

of this meeting grew the relationship which now exists between the AAUN and the People's Section. Miss Helen Hiett, director of *The New York Herald Tribune's* annual forums on world affairs, also followed these columns closely and invited me to address the *Herald Tribune* Forum upon my return from Europe in the fall of 1946. Meanwhile the idea had been carried by Mr. Eichelberger to a meeting of United Nations societies at Luxembourg and there was discussed as an international project. Also it was being developed vigorously by the AAUN staff. Operating under the sponsorship of the AAUN, the People's Section developed a "question of the month" on international affairs which now goes out to members and branches regularly. After discussion of the question of the month, the members or groups write their opinions to the People's Section secretariat in the AAUN. These are studied, and a report made to appropriate UN officials.

From the very beginning of the movement, I received much encouragement from officials in the UN, though quite off the record. In recent weeks both Senator Warren R. Austin, a United States delegate to the UN, and Trygve Lie, the UN's Secretary General, have indorsed the project. The People's Section has attracted favorable attention from European Governments as well as top-ranking United States officials.

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Marital Counseling

*By Alfred Samuel Nickless**

As a result of the article that appeared in Coronet, January, 1947, by Elizabeth Scholl, entitled "One Man Marriage Clinic," which described the marital counseling of Dr. Nickless, scores of letters were received from every part of this country, and from as far north as Canada, as far south as Brazil, as far west as Hawaii, and as far east as Trinidad in the West Indies. SOCIAL PROGRESS invited Dr. Nickless to describe this plan especially for the readers of this magazine.

THE letters received from *Coronet* may be divided roughly into three different groups: First, marital problems in the home; second, parents who are anxious that their young people may be properly guided and happily married; and, third, the largest group, from those who are about to take the step and are very solicitous that this great adventure shall be a success.

Many of the letters have presented very personal problems, and we felt the need of help in solving them. Most of the writers were anxious to know where they might go for counseling in their own locality, and what literature is available upon the subject. All this is indicative of the fact that there is a growing need for this type of thing. The mounting divorce rate also reveals this. In the face of the great percentage of homes going on the rocks, is it any wonder that parents and young people are giving more serious thought to the whole matter of preparation for marriage and the building of their homes upon

the surest and safest foundations?

The number of ministers and Churches that are giving increasing attention to this all-important ministry is indeed gratifying. If we are to judge by the number of letters received from the younger ministers of the different Church communions, as well as the growing group of seminars conducted throughout the country, more and more ministers are giving earnest thought to this worthwhile challenge.

For more than ten years it has been our privilege to spend from one to two hours each with at least ninety-five per cent of the young people who have presented themselves for marriage. Quite a few from other faiths, who were to be married by their own ministers, have sought such counsel. Still others who have been married for several years and are facing marital maladjustments have found their way to our study.

In dealing with the candidates for marriage, we have found that the Presbyterian marriage service itself provides an excellent basis upon which to begin. We personally pre-

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Davenport, Iowa.

fer to call it "sharing," rather than "counseling," for we too have derived much profit from these quiet hours together. One should always be a learner in this all-important field. Through the marriage service we are able to speak about the purpose of matrimony and the many things involved. Marriage can easily crumble when the spirit of mutual adventure goes out of it. Every minister has the great opportunity here of endeavoring to show that marriage calls for mutual comradeship, mutual interests and recreations, mutual sharing in the things that have to do with the financial, mutual ideals, mutual confidences, mutual fellowships in the realm of religion if possible, and mutual affections, which should lead to mutual satisfactions. Some have been greatly surprised when we have tried to say that there is no room for dominancy in the home or dominancy in any realm on the part of either the husband or wife. In the realm of the financial, we stress the need for adequate financial preparation. The wisdom of adequate insurance, at least on the part of the husband, is talked about, as well as a sensible plan on budgeting, without either becoming fanatically obsessed about it. Other matters, such as those which have to do with parents and in-laws, religion, and other areas, where domestic misunderstandings and possible strife may arise, are discussed. If a couple come who happen to be of different faiths, espe-

cially a Protestant and a Roman Catholic, we give them that splendid little booklet written by Leland Foster Wood, *If I Marry a Roman Catholic*.

The need for a worship center in the home is stressed. We try to let them see that religion is as wide, as high, and as deep as life, in which it finds expressions in more than going to Church. There is the inspiring in music, and the enriching in literature, the glorious in art, and the beautiful in nature, and, of course, the sublime in worship.

Ten or more years of such sharing have led us to speak out more boldly, and, we think, helpfully, about the whole area of sex relationships than we did at first. Although we do not go all the way with Freud here, we are inclined to go almost all the way. For we have discovered in our dealing with those who are maritally upset and on the verge of divorce that this is at the basis of more trouble than any other condition. Of course, we do not forget to say that it is here that we speak as a layman, encouraging each couple to talk with some up-and-coming physician, and securing through him a complete physical checkup. Having begun the little talk on the sacred level in the use of the marriage service, we are able to call a spade a spade. Various methods of birth control are discussed, but we never speak dogmatically about any of them. We always give

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Sanctuary

For Work—and Workers¹

Call to Worship:

"Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness, in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."—Jer. 9: 23, 24.

Prayer of Invocation:

"Almighty and All Merciful God, the Source of all life, the Father of all spirits, and the Author of all good, grant that we may be of one heart with all thy worshippers everywhere who lift up to thee the voice of praise and thanksgiving. Thou dost seek and meet us in all the simple things around us, in the riches of nature, in the love which binds us to the living and the dead, in our daily labour, and in all the calls of duty, in our gladness and in our grief. Teach us to discern thee, and let the veils that hide thee from us be taken away. Lift us above our doubt and fear into communion with the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ." Amen.

—John Hunter.²

Hymn:

"We Bear the Strain of Earthly Care." (Tune, "Azmon," C.M.)

Litany of Praise and Petition:

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

We thank thee, O divine Workman, for thy creative labor by which our universe was established.

"He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth."

We give thee thanks, O Giver of all good, for the food by which all men live, and for the raw materials—coal and cotton, iron and oil—by which life is warmed and clothed, housed and protected.

"It is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: . . . to rejoice in his labour; this is the gift of God."

We thank thee, O God, for the honest rewards of honest work. Help us to deserve that which we earn, and to deny to none the just return of the labor of hand and heart.

Jesus said: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me."

Teach us, O Spirit of the eternal Christ, to labor under thy yoke—in honesty that sanctifies effort, in diligence that ennobles toil, in brotherly love that unites all who work with whatever tool of brain and brawn in the service of mankind.

Jesus said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

O Christ of God, grant us in the common tasks whereby we serve each other the same Spirit which doth bind thee and thy Father together as thou dost ever work for our salvation.¹

Prayer of Intercession:

O God, who hatest nothing that thou hast made, carest for thy creation more than men care for their property, and lovest every soul of man more than a mother her only child; may this same care and love displace man's inhumanity and selfishness, until, in a new sense of the beauty of man's body and the eternal value of his soul, cruelty and neglect, pain and sorrow, pass away.

We pray for the coming of the commonwealth where those who toil shall be honored and rewarded; where a man's worth shall be reckoned higher than the price of the things he fashions with hand or brain; where science shall serve, not destruction or private gain, but preservation and the common good.

We remember those who are ready to lay down their lives for the preservation of our peace and the provision of our needs. May we so live that such sacrifice shall not have been in vain.

Give inspiration to those who labor at the perfecting of protecting science, and who seek the redemption of the workers. Make a new tie of sacrifice between us all. Since thou didst, to our confusion and amazement, declare thy nature most of all in the Craftsman of Nazareth, so once again may redemption spring from the ranks of those who toil.

"We do not ask to pass beyond the things of sense and time, but to see in them thy presence; in the crises of our times, thy judgments; in the rising demand for righteousness, the coming of thy kingdom." Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

—William E. Orchard.²

Hymn:

"O Master Workman of the Race." (Tune, "Materna," C.M.D.)³

The Reading of the Labor Sunday or Other Message

Unison Prayer:

"We thank thee, O God, for the endless renewing of life. Thou that art never weary of setting us free from the bonds wherewith we have bound ourselves, make us to walk in this new day without fear. . . . Open our eyes to receive new light; open our ears to hear the voices that are calling to us to make the world new by the power of love. Fit us for the task that is ours, and endue us with the spirit of that heavenly kingdom which is to come upon the earth where all shall be brothers and men shall be the people of God. Amen."

—"Services for Congregational Worship."²

Hymn:

"God Bless Our Native Land." (Tune, "Dort," 6.6.4.6.6.4.)³

¹ Prepared by Rev. Ganse Little, minister of the Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio.

² Prayers from *Devotional Services*, by John Hunter, and *The Temple*, by William E. Orchard, E. P. Dutton & Co., and "Services for Congregational Worship," from *Hymns of the Spirit*, Beacon Press. Used by permission.

³ Hymns are found in *The Hymnal* (1933), Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, Philadelphia, and in other standard hymnals.

For Time

Stabilization of Industrial Relations

We predict that labor will be given more than the customary recognition by the Churches during the coming months. Our interest in labor cannot be confined to Labor Sunday, for all is not quiet on the labor front. The stabilization of labor has not been secured by the passage of the Taft-Hartley labor law. That act is in for some early court tests which will keep labor before the public for some time. The Labor Sunday Message, issued by the Federal Council of Churches, and reprinted on page 22 of this issue, offers some useful sermon and discussion material. This Division's study, *The Church and Industrial Relations*, and the *Report of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life* * merit special attention. They may be secured from any Westminster Book Store for 10 cents each.

It appears that section 304 of the Taft-Hartley Bill is in for early repeal or amendment. In the opinion of the Justice Department, this section, aimed at trade-union newspapers and political contributions, gags the entire American press! Comment on any Federal election or the printing of voting records of candidates is unlawful. Senators Carl A. Hatch and George D. Aiken, having voted for the bill, are ready to repeal this section and have a bill in both houses toward this end. Senator Taft approves the amendment of it, and fifteen Senators are calling for the bill's repeal "lock, stock, and barrel."

"Shortest Way with the Dissenters"

The Churches have been warned against attempting to influence political action. David Lawrence, in his column of July 8, advised that Church organizations might have their tax exemption denied them if they persisted in "dabbling in politics." The inspiration for Mr. Lawrence's article was the appearance of Charles P. Taft as a representative of the Federal Council of Churches at the House Ways and Means Committee's hearing on reciprocal trade agreements and tariff issues. Mr. Lawrence writes that Representative Daniel A. Reed asked "searching questions," revealing that the Churches that spoke for a reduction in tariffs in the interest of world trade witlessly lowered the duty on liquor! To quote Representative Reed, "They have on the list over there in Geneva to lower still further the tax on whisky,

* Write to the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y., for a copy of the new study guide, *Economic Life: a Christian Responsibility*, based on the *Report of the National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life*, 35 cents a single copy. Quantity prices on request.

ce These

brandy, gin, rum, and other distilled spirits." He then inquired, "They are using this method of letting in more liquor to sort of educate the people not to use it—is that the idea?" Mr. Lawrence approvingly quotes and employs Mr. Reed's sarcasm to enforce his own conclusion that Church bodies in this democracy not only have no right but have not wisdom enough to speak in such complex fields.

The answer to Representative Reed's "searching question" is simple. The Churches have slight interest in barring even liquor by high tariffs from a nation that legalizes its manufacture and sale within its own territories. We have no enthusiasm for a "Liquor Interest Crusade" that would make the U.S.A. a private reserve for our own brewers and distillers. The position that the Church sold or would be willing to sell, for tax exemption, its freedom to criticize and advise the people and the nation of the peril or promise of Government policies is untenable. In a time when Washington is crowded with selfish pressure groups, it is of critical importance that the Church speak for compassion and righteousness.

"While Time Remains" The determined drive of the Administration for peacetime training is one Government policy that must be stopped. The military leaders and the Administration can be expected to intensify their campaign in the months before Congress convenes. While time remains to us, let us re-examine and restate the lesson of history and the position of the Church on conscription. The facts are incontrovertible—preparedness for war by a great nation has been a critical influence in producing war. The American public has been so long subjected to propaganda on all sides that it is weary enough to yield to the advocates of conscription. Apparently these misled advisers believe that national security and personal freedom can endure in only such reduced measure as can be allowed in "The Garrison State." The report of the President's Commission introduces no startlingly new evidence in support of the program of "peacetime training"—a program subscribed to in principle by the members before they were called to serve on the President's Commission. The Commission proposes a three-man board of two civilians and one Army officer as a safeguard against the militarization of youth; the destruction of individuality, the loss of which would make men units that would fit into a great war machine; against the inevitable replacement of self-discipline, so vital to democracy, with the instant obedience to authority so loved by dictators. This device will not greatly reassure anyone who has

had much experience trying to influence Army policies. Peacetime training means military training, military indoctrination, and military domination! The domination of the military will *only begin* with youth training at 18, for the Army will have its heavy hand on the life of our youths for years in special services or in the National Guard.

Add One Rabbit The story is told that due to the meat shortage during the war the owner of a hamburger stand boldly advertised he would meet the emergency by offering "sandwiches of horse and rabbit meat—fifty-fifty." Investigation disclosed, however, that over 99 per cent of the meat was horse meat. The merchant's defense was that his advertising honestly announced the mixture at "fifty-fifty—one horse and one rabbit." The Commission's hope to influence the peacetime training program in any important respect is as "realistic" as adding one rabbit to improve the merchant's formula.

It is time now that we called things by their right names. "Peacetime training" is conscription. It will bring the dangerous evils of compulsory military training, after 150 years in Europe, has burned out the young life of those unhappy nations and has left the land a shambles. Peacetime conscription will give another dangerous drive to competitive armaments. The more power the United States commits to this course the less our influence will be felt for world security through an international police force. The farther we go on the road of peacetime militarism, the nearer we are to war. We will not be nearer peace until we retrace every step we have taken with the nations of the world to multilateral disarmament and world security.

General Assembly The General Assembly of our Church, in keeping with its tradition, took the following action:

Action "We reaffirm our historic position of opposition to peacetime military conscription as constituting a dangerous extension of regimentation by government, an inadequate measure of defense in an atomic age, and a violation of the spirit of our present determination to secure the multilateral reduction of arms and armies. This latter end will be more helpfully furthered by the passage of legislation similar to the Landis bill calling for the international abolition of peacetime conscription."

Let us renounce imperialism and militarism, and with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to the restoration of the world. The power is ours; the opportunity is ours. Now is the time to act.

The Labor-Management Conference

(Continued from page 3)

at a time when battle lines were being tightly drawn. Unions felt impelled to take steps to protect labor organizations against employer attacks which, rightly or wrongly, were being anticipated. Industry was readying a defense for management "privileges" against a union onslaught which appeared to it to be imminent. What then seemed to be an impending crisis in industrial relations could have been met by a mutual recognition of the proper functions of both union and management in industrial relations. A national charter could also have become a guide for the use of negotiators throughout the country to assist them in arriving at agreements.

A labor-management charter is a piece of unfinished business which needs completion. The unsigned charter of 1945 could be a document of great historical significance if management and labor were to seize the opportunity of building a relationship upon the foundation of common understanding. An agreement between them could do what no law can do, that is, assist in the growth of understanding and peaceful industrial relations based upon voluntary action.

Although experience with the labor-management conference is not extensive, the results already achieved from its use indicate that it is a broad road to progress by which the national labor policy founded upon free collective bargaining can be strengthened and developed. It can even be said that the labor-management conference leading to understanding and agreement is the only road to sound advancement either for the development of broad national policy or for carrying out collective bargaining responsibilities in the plant. Increasing realization of the agreement-making potentialities of collective bargaining is of overwhelming importance to a national program based upon the solid

assumption that the differences between labor and management can best be resolved through understanding, persuasion, compromise, and agreement.

Marital Counseling

(Continued from page 13)

assurance that such is talked about for no other reason than the adequate protection of the bride, and intelligent and scientific spacing of the children. It is here that we give them the little pamphlet entitled *The Doctor Talks with the Bride*, and the book by Leland Foster Wood and Dr. Robert L. Dickinson, *Harmony in Marriage*. We do not hesitate to suggest other worth-while books on the same subject. In fact, in the marriage kit which we also give them is to be found a bibliography on the whole matter of marriage and the home. We may say that the kit is a large envelope containing tracts and pamphlets on several matters dealing with marriage, which we have got together through the years.

After the wedding day, we endeavor to keep in touch with the husband and wife, sending them on each anniversary day a written letter of congratulation. If we chance to learn of the expected advent of a little one, we send them the delightfully expressive little essay by Dr. Frank Crane, entitled "To an Expectant Mother." And when the baby has arrived, another little brochure with the picture of the Madonna and Christ-child on the front and a beautiful word of rejoicing on the inside is sent to the parents.

Next to ministering to those who are ill and bereaved, we have become convinced that sharing with radiant young people on the threshold of marriage is the most rewarding part of our ministry. We are almost pained when we contrast it with those earlier days of our ministry when we just married them and wished them Godspeed.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Summary of H. R. 4278. Universal Military Training

Trainees will be inducted into the National Security Training Corps under the jurisdiction of a three-member National Security Commission, appointed by the President. The training shall be administered and carried out on the highest possible moral, religious, and spiritual plane. No houses of prostitution shall be allowed within any reasonable distance of any military camp; nor shall anyone sell, give, or in any way supply any intoxicating liquor to any trainee.

The first phase of military training shall consist of six months' continuous training. The second phase shall be devoted to the completion of one of the several "alternative programs." He shall be assigned in accordance with his choice within the limits of applicable quotas, and standards of qualification and selection prescribed by law or by the President.

The "alternative programs" of the second training phase are as follows:

1. Additional training in the National Security Training Corps for six months.
2. Voluntary enlistment in the regular forces for period authorized by law.
3. Enlistment in the National Guard or Organized Reserve.
4. Enlistment in the Enlisted Reserve Corps and assignment to an organized unit.
5. Entrance into the military, naval, or Coast Guard academies.
6. Enrollment in the naval and Marine Corps officer procurement program.
7. Enrollment in ROTC or NROTC college course with agreement to accept the appropriate Reserve commission, if offered.
8. Entrance into the United States Merchant Marine Academy or one of the five state-accredited maritime academies, with agreement to accept a commission, if offered.
9. Entrance upon a technical or specialist course in school or college, the course being approved by the War or Navy Departments.
10. Enlistment in the Enlisted Reserve Corps for a period of six years: Provided, that during the period of enlistment such trainee shall be subject to a maximum of six months' active duty training, of which not more than one month will be required in any one year; provided further, this alternative of six years' enlistment in one of the Enlisted Reserve Corps is open only to a trainee who is unable to select any of the preceding alternatives because they are not available to him in his community or, if available, because their quotas are already filled, or he is otherwise ineligible for reasons over which he has no control.

Pay. Monthly pay, \$30; will include transportation, hospitalization, dependency allowance, and compensation for injuries or death.

Method of induction. A Selective Training System shall be set up with local boards. Registration for those between 17 and 20 at time of act, and thereafter at attaining age 17. Liability for training begins at 18, but one can volunteer at 17. High school students may complete high school course if under 20.

Conscientious objectors. Provisions are made for noncombatant service, and for alternative service for those opposed to any military service. The latter may be assigned for training for one year with such departments or agencies other than the War or Navy Departments, as may be prescribed by the Commission. C.O.'s are to receive pay, dependency and compensation allowances as other trainees.

Code of conduct. Thirty pages deal with the code of conduct, provisions for punishment, and methods of enforcing discipline.

The Washington Seminar—May 6, 7, 8, 1947

As the Texan and I held on to our hats from the Capitol to a church where we were all to eat together, a fierce wind was blowing—one that knocked trees over. We were both delegates to the Washington Seminar. Here, I thought, is a symbol of what is going on in Washington. From every point in the compass the fierce winds of fears, hopes, demands blow in and converge upon our national Capital.

The purpose of these seminars is to bring to Washington a number of people, representing Churches and other agencies, men and women who previously have shown an interest in social questions. There they are plunged together into the political caldron when Congress is in session. At such times the winds from the hinterland and from abroad are blowing strongest upon the heart city of our nation. Issues are selected for consideration that are of paramount importance on Capitol Hill, and also of vital significance to such groups as comprise the seminar.

Part of the time we were led and guided from place to place by those in charge of the program. Part of the time we were placed on our own with a statement about what was happening in the House, the Senate, or in committees. Specific time was set aside for us to arrange interviews with our own members of Congress. This combination of guided time, and time on our own, is best calculated to enable us to mature most quickly vis-à-vis the Washington scene.

The seminar does not consider such issues as education, health, labor, housing, and other current problems with the express purpose of settling them once and for all. We, of course, should like to settle them. But far more important than that is the fact that this constitutes a project method in a course in practical politics. When, after being exposed to these live questions—matters that are giving many people sleepless nights, topics that cause the lights in many Government buildings to burn far into the night—when, after this, I converse with my Congressman I do not have to ask him academic questions concerning, let us say, the N.L.R.B. Rather I speak his language, about things he is wracking his brains to decide upon, about issues for which he is moving heaven and earth to secure factual data in order to vote wisely. And do not think that there are not men like that in Congress, who are sincere and patriotic. Doubt their judgment sometimes, but by and large respect their sincerity. And remember always: the winds blow fierce in Washington!

The nature of some of those winds could be seen in one crowded office in the Capital. I was there keeping an appointment with a Congressman. I asked a man in the outer office, "What are all these men doing here?" He replied, "They all want something." There was one exception in that room; that was the religious and social force that I represented. We were asking for nothing. I made no selfish demands. All we demand is justice for the lowly as well as for those in high places. We are vigilant to see that Church and State be separate. We are aggressive and becoming more so to see to it that the voice of Christianity and of moral righteousness be heard by those who make the laws and whose ears are filled by the din and roar of the pressure groups.

The Washington Seminar trains men and women to go back into the nation itself with more knowledge than before to help those around them to interpret the changing issues, with the purpose in view of bringing to bear upon our Government the full force of enlightened Christian opinion.

—Rev. John T. Wiggins, First Presbyterian Church,
Shortsville, New York.

*Labor Sunday Message — 1947**

The relations between workers and employers—whether in factory or on farm, in office or in store—create some of the most important problems of our time. The decisions of responsible men and women in these relationships profoundly affect the lives of millions of people. An employer can put thousands off the pay roll, a union can put thousands on the street, and either can discriminate against a race.

The Church cannot disregard the problems created by these relations nor overlook their effects on men, women, and children. The Christian Gospel affirms that men are brothers because all are created in the image of God and each is important in his sight. How can the Church effectively express its concern for people? How can it promote a true recognition of the inherent worth of each person, the right of each one to a place in society, however humble, in which he can contribute to the community while he supports himself and his family?

The beginning must surely be made in the Church itself. There must be a vigorous effort to see that no congregation is a class Church or a racial Church. That is not easy, for Churches are usually neighborhood organizations, and people live in neighborhoods of similar economic status. But a true visitation evangelism by the laymen of the Churches will make possible a congregation that crosses economic and racial and class lines. A local Church family is the place to lay a foundation of sure and sympathetic understanding of other people and of why they act as they do.

Clearly, the Church must reject both the idea that most employers are greedy conspirators who combine in gigantic soulless corporate entities and the idea that organizations of employees are usually a rabble led by demagogues. The Church recognizes that each individual is a part of many groups almost from the cradle to the grave. He is part of a family, a school, a lunch club, the round-house crowd. But the Church will always appeal to the conscience of the single person and call upon him to assert in his group what that conscience says, even in the face of hostility of that group.

In a stable community human beings are naturally team workers. But our communities today are not stable. We have to adapt ourselves to constant change, and because as a civilization we have not learned how to do that, we feel profoundly insecure. Teamwork then suffers in our everyday life, especially in our employment relations.

* Approved by the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and issued through the Department of the Church and Economic Life. Requested to be read in the Churches on Labor Sunday, August 31, 1947.

Much valuable research has been done in the principles of a society where constant adaptation to social change is required. But something is still lacking. The missing element in industry is the goal for the teamwork and for the adaptation. The goal is to serve God's purpose in the light of the Christian Gospel. With a sound knowledge of actual relations between employers and employees, the Church can present the community with the demand that men shall go beyond expediency, or even bare justice, and shall work for a partnership based on Christian good will.

It is also important that the Church should see the problems of the responsible leaders of labor and of management. It has been increasingly effective, during and since the war, in service to the sick, the bereaved, and the troubled. But the Church has not faced adequately the problems of the layman, employer, and labor leader alike, who have to decide between alternatives, none of which is pleasant, each of which carries with it some apparent evil to some people. The Church today is seeking ways to meet such problems, and the help of every pastor and every Christian layman should be enlisted.

One of the serious elements in this particular field is the corruption of power. Most of us have an urge for power. Organization is essential in society but the corruption of power is a danger in any organized activity. The bigger the organization, the greater the danger. The urge and competition for power can exist among employers and union leaders, and even among Church officials. The danger of business monopolies requires constant limitation by government and constant vigilance by the people. Internal politics today troubles many labor organizations. That has been the problem of democracy as it grows in size, even since its dawn in Greece.

The democracy that we in America derive so largely from the independent Churches of three hundred and more years ago gives us hope that the Church today can greatly help to solve this problem. For the kind of democracy exemplified by our forefathers depends upon our seeking God's voice to guide us in what others seek to tell us. This humble reliance upon a power higher than ourselves and this constant recognition that others may be closer to God's will than we have always been characteristic of those most trusted by the American people. These qualities have helped to make our country great.

The Churches can also stimulate the consciences of people as we listen to the threat of the future, derived from our past experience of the business cycle. We Christians can face with silence or inaction the prospect of recurrent business depressions in which unemployment rots the souls of men.

(Continued on page 26)

The Workshop

"Martha in the Modern Age." We finished our study of "Martha in the Modern Age" yesterday. An encouraging thing was that both interest and attendance increased with the progress of the course; yesterday we had about thirty women.

Language difficulties and the working habits of the Mexican women who make up the major part of the household employee group in El Paso make our problems in a way unique, but then every community has its unique problems or thinks it has.

In our discussion we agreed that each household employee should have a definite idea of her duties and was entitled to good working conditions and adequate equipment.

We found that wages had advanced greatly, not because of any special increase in skills but because the increase in our population during the war put supply and demand completely out of balance.

We agreed that every household employee had the right to intelligent supervision and the personal interest of her employer, that employer-employee relations should be established on a friendly basis.

We agreed that as a group we would participate in a similar but more comprehensive study which the Central Council of Social Agencies will organize in the fall. (I am chairman of the Planning Committee.)

We suggest that from that larger group a committee be appointed to meet with representatives of the Texas Employment Service to discuss working conditions and wage standards.

We suggest that a committee from our own group confer immediately with the Technical Institute concerning the possibility of a training course for domestic employees.

We suggest meetings of employers with teachers from the homemaking departments of the El Paso schools who will suggest standards and methods for employers.

We will have no more meetings until fall when I hope we may settle down and do a good piece of work.

—*Mrs. W. P. Austin, S.E.A. Secretary, El Paso Presbyterian.*

Progress in Social Action. There has been a great increase this year in the number of women who have written to Congressmen, indicating vigilance and direction in matters of government. Letters were sent stating opposition to peacetime military conscription. Other letters requested amnesty for conscientious objectors.

Presbyterian women's groups were active in circulating petitions for the FEPC bill in Michigan. We also secured names on petitions to discontinue "beer-sponsored baseball broadcasts."

About six women's organizations contributed financially to the Adventure in Brotherhood (summer, 1946). Round-table discussions were held by a number of groups on intercultural relations. Several white women's groups invited Negro women's groups to be their guests at regular meetings. One association had a guest day with women from eight nationality groups.

About twenty women's organizations visited Dodge Christian Community House and saw their program of intergroup, intercultural, and interfaith activities.

—*Mrs. Henry D. Jones, Detroit Presbyterian Secretary.*

Arousing a Community to World Responsibility. In Stamford, Connecticut, as a result of a stirring address by an ex G.I. at an annual Interfaith Dinner in

February, 1946, a small group of citizens came together to consider how best to awaken the community to the problems of winning an orderly peace. Within a few weeks an association had been incorporated, a board of directors elected, and an ambitious series of forums scheduled for the near future. The Presbyterian minister was elected chairman.

Toward the end of June, a three-day institute took place, each session being held in the auditorium of the high school. On Thursday evening, George V. Denny, Jr., and his "America's Town Meeting of the Air" started the meetings off. On Friday night, a program on science was presented with Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard Observatory, Gerald P. Wendt, Managing Editor of *Science Illustrated*, and Brigadier General Charles P. Cabell, U. S. Army delegate to the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations, speaking on the subject, "Science—Man's Servant or Master." Saturday afternoon was given over to a discussion of human rights and economics, with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the Commission on Human Rights of the UN, Professor Mabel Newcomer, chairman of the Department of Economics, Vassar College, and Dr. Broadus Mitchell, director of research for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The closing session Saturday evening presented Dr. Charles E. Rothwell, Secretary-General of the U.S. delegation to the UN, Admiral Richmond Kelly Turner, U.S. Naval delegate to the UN Military Staff Committee, and the Honorable Carlos d'Avila, former president of Chile, now Chilean delegate to the Economic and Social Council of the UN. They discussed the topic, "Where Are We Headed—Peace or Chaos?" Each session concluded with discussion from the audience.

In order to reach those who were unable to attend the sessions at the auditorium, wide newspaper, magazine, and radio coverage was obtained with the result that

the whole community became conscious of a growing determination to arouse public interest.

During the fall and winter seasons several other programs were presented, a United Nations concert, a lecture course on international affairs (in co-operation with the Adult Education Department of the public school system), a forum on China and one on the accomplishments of the United Nations.

The group are now planning an equally effective program for the coming year and are hoping to increase the membership which last year was composed of organizations, businesses, and individuals comprising a complete cross section of the people of the community (different racial, nationality, economic, and religious groups) to five hundred.

—*Reported by Mrs. J. R. Lockwood,
S.E.A. Secretary, Connecticut
Valley Presbyterial.*

S.E.A. Workshop. On Thursday, June 5, from 10 A.M. to 3 P.M. forty persons participated in the first Social Education and Action Workshop of the Western Michigan Presbyterial Society.

The topic discussed was, "Why Social Education and Action in Your Church." Many timely suggestions came from this informal circle. Mrs. Cornelius Schans, presbyterial president, and Mrs. George Little, Social Education and Action secretary of Michigan Synodical, offered current information in this field, and a fine display of current literature in the Social Education and Action field was arranged.

In the afternoon the group discussed ways and means of promoting a practical program of social education and action in each Church represented.

Appreciation was expressed to those who helped in presenting this vital program, a program that is definitely challenging.

—*Mrs. Henry Meyers, S.E.A. Secretary, Western Michigan Presbyterial.*

Labor Sunday Message

(Continued from page 23)

We recognize that this is a problem of profound complexity and that men, highly qualified, differ widely in their interpretations and their remedies. But we are equally impressed with the area of agreement among these experts. We propose to the utmost of our ability to create a background of Christian principle in which the study, discussions, and plans for action to meet the situation will proceed.

Tomorrow will confront us with new problems and new crises. We must approach the future with confidence that skill and resources are available for fresh answers which will bring us into a better economic life. This confidence can be sustained only if we know that our objectives are rooted in God's purpose. The realization of the fellowship of men under God, and the sense of a common destiny—these are all part of God's purpose revealed in Jesus Christ. For these we must strive; out of them will spring new life, new understanding, and a new unity of spirit and purpose.

This message* in leaflet form may be ordered from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York. Price, 5 cents each; \$2.00 a hundred.

A People's Section for the United Nations

(Continued from page 11)

Memberships are procurable through the American Association for the United Nations, 45 East 65th Street, New York. Reprints of the December, 1946, article are also available together with other information about the movement.

From what has been said here, it is clear that the People's Section has both long-range and intermediate objectives. The ultimate aim is to set up a People's Section within the UN organization. The intermediate objective is to support the UN as the best hope available instrumentally for preserving peace, and to increase public interest in, and knowledge of, its activities. The functions of the People's Section would require considerable thought. At first they could do no more than publish reports on communications received, the debates of candidates for election to the People's Assembly, and per-

haps a periodical. The subjects covered would have to be limited to those bearing directly on international disputes. The People's Section would stress the evolutionary features of the Charter and bring to bear on the UN a vast and well-informed public pressure for strengthening UN machinery. But it would avoid risking the future of the UN in radical experimentation with the Charter. Through a slow but sure growth of the UN to a stature equal to its responsibilities, the People's Section would chart a path to enduring peace.

PULPIT AND CHOIR GOWNS

THE BEST OF THEIR KIND

WRITE FOR CATALOG

WORKMANSHIP AND PERFECT FIT UNSURPASSED

BENTLEY & SIMON:
ESTABLISHED 1912
7 W. 36 ST. NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

About Books

Minority Problems in the Public Schools, by Theodore Brameld. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$2.50.

Dr. Brameld has ably summarized in this book the plan of approach to problems in intercultural relations by seven school systems in representative cities, one located in the East, two in the West, four ranging between. All cities are located in the North where greater flexibility of program without the limitation of fixed patterns of segregation is expected. One of the cities might be regarded as "borderline" since attitudes from both North and South have influenced its institutions substantially.

Even though these school systems might well be regarded as above average in their educational standing, the reader is struck by the limitations in their over-all policies and practices aimed at improving intercultural relations. Most constructive, however, are the generally noteworthy efforts of the administrative leadership in these systems to move progressively in the direction of sound and effective programs. The adoption by the administration of official guiding principles underlying any permanent program of intercultural education is a particularly significant approach utilized by one city system. It is encouraging that these principles included a ruling that candidates for teaching positions should be selected according to merit exclusively, which resulted in the appointment of an increasing number of Negro teachers and the reassurance by the superintendent that promotions to administrative positions would be made when qualifications warranted this.

The study is valuable because it does not present descriptions alone of policies and practices in the seven representative city systems. A challenging evaluation of each system's efforts is made, followed by

a realistic listing of recommendations. It is not enough, for example, for one system to state its policy of teacher appointment on a merit basis. Dr. Brameld points out the need for valid questioning of the disproportionate number of Negro teachers in this system also, the fact that opportunities for Negroes to teach in schools with more than a few white students are nonexistent and some Jewish teachers feel they are more or less consistently discriminated against by being assigned to the city's poorer schools. Specific recommendations for this system include the need for appointment of a representative teacher committee to analyze exhaustively the actual status of Negro and other minorities on academic and nonacademic staffs. This committee could be used to make recommendations as to the promotion of both Negro and Jewish staff members to administrative position; the assignment of Negro teachers and counselors to mixed schools, especially to those with larger ratios of white enrollment, and like proposals.

Community backgrounds are analyzed in the study of each of the seven school systems. Their relationship to educational practice is skillfully interpreted. In one city of 25,000, for example, intercultural attitudes are dominated by a group of wealthy citizens living in or near the city giving it a "suburban character." The minority population includes over a thousand Latin Americans (a term locally used to include Mexican nationals, Mexican Americans, and Spanish Americans), some 700 Negroes, approximately 250 Jews, 250 Chinese Americans, and 200 Japanese-Americans. The Latin Americans particularly feel deeply the inferiority with which they are regarded by native Americans. The intercultural program developed in this city has brought the people of the

community into vital and direct participation through a series of demonstrations and exhibits. The families are helped to feel they have made a real contribution to the community. Though this is commendable, this approach has not proved effective in removing local discriminations, nor have the schools been effectively modified.

The author concludes the picture as given in this study of seven representative school systems as by no means completely hopeful. It does mark progress, though, in the history of American education. Beginnings are being made in all of these cities in the direction of more democratic use of public education to promote a life of greater freedom and happiness for all the people.

MARECHAL-NEIL E. YOUNG

Group Process in Administration,
by Harleigh B. Trecker. The Womans
Press. \$2.75.

This book is a systematic guide for executives and all others concerned with administration whether in case- or group-work agencies or other types of social organizations. It answers a multitude of practical questions. What determines the effectiveness of a board of directors? What are the characteristics of a good group meeting and how may they be achieved? How should committee members be selected? How shall they be prepared for service? How big should a committee be? What is the best method of training chairmen?

Professor Trecker, faculty member of the University of Southern California's Graduate School of Social Work, tells all in *Group Process in Administration*. As game lovers refer to Hoyle, parliamentarians to Robert, and speakers in need of a quick quote to Bartlett, so administrators will find themselves turning again and again to this comprehensive study.

Social welfare agencies have displayed increasing interest in the study of admin-

istration in recent years. For too long, perhaps, they took their administrative pattern from business, points out Dr. Elliott, General Secretary of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., in her foreword to this book. The business ideal was highly centralized control by able individuals, and this was looked upon as the only form of efficient management. Against this view is placed the author's emphasis upon the importance of co-ordinated, harmonized, group participation in administration.

"The primary function of administration," as Mr. Trecker sees it, "is to provide leadership of a continuously helpful kind, so that all persons engaged in the manifold workings of the agency may advance the agency to ever more significant service and accomplishment." Leadership comes best, the author believes, out of a co-operative pattern which encourages contributions from each individual. The administrator needs to make the most of the collective judgments of all those associated with him if their dynamic force as a group is to be developed.

Professor Eduard C. Lindeman, of Columbia University, comments upon *Group Process in Administration* as follows: "This treatise tells how and why administrators of social agencies should be the first to experiment with administrative procedures which enhance the democratic ideal . . . for democracy tends to deteriorate . . . when administrators forget their dual function, namely, to get something done and in the doing to furnish everybody with an opportunity for growth."

Extensive references for study accompany each chapter. Near the end of the book is a questionnaire. It will help executives to take a self-inventory and answer those all-important questions: "Am I the kind of administrator (or -trix) that gets the fullest co-operation from all those around me? And if not, why not?"

Since the Church is the largest of all agencies functioning through groups of people there will be found in these pages

"meat" for the pastor, the director, or the ruling elder. The book discusses methods of working with groups, the executive's relation to a group, planning how to get committees to function, and relationship to the larger community.

F. M. C.

Gentleman's Agreement, by Laura Z. Hobson. Simon Schuster, Inc. \$2.75.

For several weeks this past summer this novel was rated by several national polls as the number-one fiction best seller of the period. It has had a tremendous sale and has had numerous favorable reviews.

Most of the reviewers term *Gentleman's Agreement* a novel dealing with a social problem, namely, anti-Semitism. And it is with this problem that it deals—and in a most unusual way. I find no fault with its basic thesis that anti-Semitism is an evil and that not only should it be fought but that also indifference to the problem should likewise be fought.

However, I do discover causes for criticism in several other aspects of the book. The dialogue is full of profanity. There is constant drinking among its "heroic" characters. There is a flagrant disregard for accepted moral standards. Implied adultery is committed at least twice by four of the characters who are supposed to be the crusaders against the evil of anti-Semitism.

Perhaps my greatest criticism of this work, however, is the author's very evident misconception of the fact that everyone who is not a Jew is a Christian. This rather subtle conviction is brought out again and again. Also, there is the insinuation that anti-Semitism is something that has been originated and is being carried on by the Christians. The hero speaks of himself as an Episcopalian, and yet the author tells us that he is an agnostic, whose father and mother were agnostics.

I am greatly in sympathy with Mrs. Hobson's aims of stamping out anti-Semitism, but her concepts of religion are entirely confused. Also, her book would have been

much stronger without its profanity and vulgar language, as well as her utter scorn of decent ethical standards of behavior.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Kingsblood Royal, by Sinclair Lewis. Random House, Inc. \$3.00.

For well over a quarter of a century, Sinclair Lewis has been a gadfly stinging American consciousness and sometimes American conscience. His new novel, *Kingsblood Royal*, is characterized on the flap of its dust cover as "a blazing story with a theme that will jolt a nation."

Generally, I think, white readers of this book will fall into three classes. The avowed champions of white supremacy, if they can manage to read through it all, will be close to apoplexy; some of our racial sentimentalists will find it a dramatization of social injustice to a minority people which will leave them bereft of their critical faculties in their ecstasy; and the great majority of men and women will put the book aside more in sorrow than in anger. They will be disturbed by the clear fashion in which Lewis uncovers a real weakness in our social order, and puzzled and irritated by the moments Lewis dilutes his telling truth with mere irascibility, impatient exaggeration, and a frankly artificial coloring in behalf of this thesis which is something other than the legitimate caricature of satire.

What the Negro readers will think of this novel I cannot say, but their feelings in the matter accurately reported would certainly be worth knowing.

The main character of *Kingsblood Royal* (how magnificent is that title for the author's purpose!) is a respected and rising young banker of Grand Republic, Minnesota—a war hero and a leading citizen—one Captain Neil Kingsblood. The captain has returned from battle to his wife and little girl and lives conventionally in a charming home, all but paid for, in one of the choice real-estate developments of the town.

Spurred on by his father who fancies they are descended from Catherine of Aragon and may be rightfully in the line of English kings, Neil does a little ancestor-hunting. He is stunned to discover, instead of kings on his father's side, a full-blooded Negro remote grandfather on his mother's (one of the early adventurers to America). He further learns that being one-thirty-second Negro, there are old laws that declare that any man with a drop of Negro blood in him is to be regarded as a black man—he, Neil, his mother and his brother and sister as well as his lovely little daughter, Biddy, are all technically people of color.

A white man who has always rather disliked Negroes, Neil becomes fascinated by his African heritage. He seeks out other Negroes of Grand Republic, whispers to some of them his discovery, and finally blurts out that he is a Negro at the town's most exclusive white club of which he is a member.

The catastrophic results for all concerned may be anticipated, and Lewis proceeds to chronicle them in full detail. Neil loses his job at the bank. His neighbors and former intimates resent his very presence in their community. He and his family become social outcasts, and gradually he changes from a popular citizen to a figure who is subjected to just about the whole category of indignities and discriminations that a ruling white society has at one time or another parceled out to Negroes.

Lewis himself must be aware of the serious weakness of *Kingsblood Royal*'s whole motivation.

It is characteristic of his confused and utterly undistinguished mentality that in his personal stand singularly he fails to offer his mother or his family or even the Negroes with whom he fraternizes anything but the example of conspicuously unintelligent stubbornness.

His real tragedy is not that he finds himself a Negro, but that through quite un-

considered rashness, entirely without plan, he dashes himself and his family from a world in which they were comfortable into an alien world with which they have neither the education nor the conditioning to cope. When we leave him, beyond having reached a point of desperation where he blindly tries to return blow for blow, the pattern of his life and thinking is utterly without illumination to himself, his unfortunate relatives, or the readers of the novel.

At its best, the whole situation of Neil Kingsblood, as Lewis is content to offer it, is something like a conscientious motorist who returns to his car, after he has left it for four hours, to discover he has inadvertently parked in a one-hour restricted parking zone. The police have not molested him and he is free to drive on about his business. But with an excess of conscience, he goes to the police and insists upon being arrested for his unconscious infraction. Furthermore, he insists upon waking the judge and having his trial at public expense.

When you hear people abusing Lewis for *Kingsblood Royal*, it will be because he has laid himself open to abuse by permitting his instinctive gifts as an artist to be clouded and marred by the satisfactions of his gifts as a partisan propagandist. Perhaps the anger he arouses will be salutary in calling attention to the vital issues he flings down before his public. Often we are so blinded by our prejudices and upbringing that we see dimly the world that swims around us. Lewis and other socially conscious writers have helped us to perceive with a new clarity what lies beyond our blurred sight. But as one of his admirers, this reviewer wishes he had not been satisfied to stultify his powers as a novelist by substituting the stuff of sensationalism for honest, rounded craftsmanship.

JOHN WILLIAM ROGERS¹

¹ From *The Chicago Sun*, May 25, 1947, Book Week section. Used with permission.

Study and Action

World Order

A Brief History of the United Nations, Revised Edition. October, 1946. Including accomplishments through 1946 session. Five study outlines with projects included. Education Committee, American Association for the United Nations, Inc., 45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y. 20 cents.

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Poster: Large 20" x 40". One side, pictorial scenes, "Not This . . . But This." Other side, Preamble to United Nations Charter. For use in your world order meetings. Order from any Westminster Book Store. Free.

Conscription

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The above and several others are prepared by The National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. 5 cents. Quantity prices on request.

An Analysis of the Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training. The National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C. 10 cents each.

Conscription After the War? by Harrop A. Freeman and Ruth S. Freeman. A study book for youth. Fellowship Publications, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y. 25 cents.

Industrial Relations

Christianity Where Men Work, by Ralph Norman Mould. Material for five discussion sessions with young people and young adults on industrial relations. Questions and Biblical references included. Friendship Press, New York. 50 cents.

Goals of Co-operation. Joint statement by members of the National Planning Association. 800 21st Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Limited quantities free.

Miscellaneous

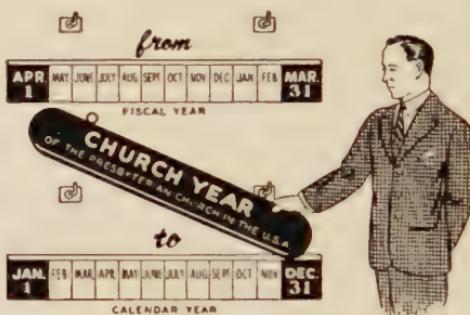
"**Pennies for Health**," by Clara A. Hardin. Comprehensive discussion of health needs and various plans advocated. For group discussion. Public Affairs News Service, The Womans Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., \$1.50 a year. 25 cents a copy.

Educational and Employment Opportunities for Youth. Report and Recommendations of the Interagency Committee on Youth Employment and Education to the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Publication No. 319. U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

Important: Order from sources indicated.

CHANGING THE CHURCH YEAR

AND HOW
THE
CHANGE
AFFECTS
YOU!



At the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., held in Atlantic City, N. J., in May 1946, it was resolved that the fiscal year of the Church be changed to correspond to the calendar year, this change to begin January 1, 1948.

In this arrangement, 1947 is caught in the middle and comes out short in time—there being only 9 months in this fiscal year—from April 1, through December 31, 1947. But we can't let any of our work for the furtherance of God's Kingdom suffer because of this change.

To prevent our various causes from being retarded, extra vigilance is needed by pastors and treasurers. Benevolence contributions must be paid in nine months instead of twelve months, and all before December 31st!

And please resolve now not to wait until the end of the year to get your money in. The needs are pressing and continuous. Make it your business practice to send in your contributions regularly and promptly on the first of each month. Then shall you in truth be good stewards.

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.

156 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

Listen to Us

*By Jack R. McCarthy **

PLEASE listen to us. We are the ones who have lain in hospitals for months and years. The war did that to us. It crushed our bodies. But bodies heal in time. What takes so long to heal are the scars upon our minds and souls. At first the bitterness and disillusionment which conquered our very breath was unbearable. Even now, at times, this mood returns to haunt us. But we are learning.

Being tied to beds by traction to our legs and plaster casts which cover most of our bodies has given us a different measurement of time. We no longer rush. We do not measure a day by traffic lights, or the elusive dollar. Our time is governed by thoughts rather than action.

We are the fortunate ones. For the first time in our lives we have learned to rely wholly upon our minds. We want nothing but to show others what we have learned. We have learned that wars are useless. Do they stop people from hating? We have learned that they don't—have you? We have learned that wars are also impractical. We know that if there is another one, medical science will be useless. No doctor can mend a body spattered into space. We are the ones who have learned that better than anyone.

We have learned that the man in the ward who is the "griper," and is out for himself, is the lonely one. We have learned to share. When the fellow next to us cries out in pain, we try to help him. We do not ask what color he is or what Church he attends. We have learned that love and understanding conquer where penicillin and surgery fail.

Because our physical disability has often barred us from jobs, we feel a kinship with the Negro and the Jew whose spiritual disability—which has been imposed upon him by the world—leaves him standing outside a closed door. We have learned that equality is a thing of the mind and soul.

Please listen to us. Let us share with you what we have learned. While lying in bed paralyzed, with blinded eyes, and with limbless bodies, we have learned that peace is won and kept through sharing and feeling equal. We have learned that we are our brothers' keepers. These things which we have learned are yours. Please listen to us.

* Reprinted with permission from *The New York Times Magazine*, May 25, 1947.

Mrs. G. Goes to Washington

*By Angeline Gebhard **

A MATEUR on Assignment" should be the title of these observations. They do not pretend to be the considered conclusions of a political sage, nor the pontifical pronouncements of a veteran commentator on national affairs. Rather, they are the result of observing the closing two weeks of the first session of the 80th Congress.

Washington in July is normally a "hot spot." But Congress in session in July is a combination to tax the endurance of a marathon runner and the disposition of a saint.

Every Washington visitor, seeing Congress in action for the first time, must have the feeling that these fellows we sent down there aren't on the job. We wonder where they are and what they are doing.

Of course, the "heavy work" on legislation has been done by the time it reaches the "talking stage" on the floor of the House or Senate. Committees and subcommittees have done their best, or worst, on the measure, depending on your point of view.

Being a Congressman is a hard job for a man even moderately well equipped for what the job demands. Your representative is probably a

harassed individual. Being on public record, he is sure to be "damned if he does, and damned if he doesn't" by some group in his district. Rarely does he get the heartening encouragement he deserves when he leads the fight in the people's interest against selfish minority pressures.

Some wit has quipped that the honest Congressman is one who is upright by equal pressures applied from all sides. Though we are committed in principle to Government by the will of the majority, in practice we are governed through the influence of organized pressure groups.

The distinct impression of the frenzied fear which seemed to grip many a Congressman came as a shock. In these days of Russian insistance and balking, when clear heads are needed as never before, it is rather appalling to see many of our policy makers in a dither of fear and panic, neither of which can be much help in plotting out a sane, consistent, far-seeing international course.

To an observer, there is a strong suspicion that news of international developments was cleverly timed to help to push through domestic legislation otherwise repugnant to the American people. Every legislator appeared to have inside informa-

* Special legislative representative, Division of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

tion. One heard too frequently: "But you don't know what I know. The international situation is apt to explode into war at any moment! The United States is in great danger because we are so weak. We've got to have UMT (universal military training) immediately because of what Russia may do Personally we don't like conscription for our boys, but we don't see any other way to be strong." But always one sensed that overtone of fear, and the implication that the American people are not to be trusted with the true state of strained international relations.

If war is at our elbow, as the jitterers indicate, there are some strange inconsistencies in our military recommendations. Surely this is not time to let our top military brain, General Eisenhower, leave the service for a civilian post! If these Washington fears are founded in fact, why toy with a UMT program which, according to Army testimony, will take from one to two years to get under way? If mass armies are what we need to scare Russia into being good, and to meet the general military urgency, why not get a general draft of men of military age under way without delay? If war is at our doorstep, UMT would be a cap-gun policy in an atomic era.

Fortunately, we are not given to a blind faith in the "leader doctrine." If the world is about to fall apart at the seams, it is high time

the public has the facts and *all the facts*. There is small chance for an enlightened policy to be drawn from a compartment marked "Top Drawer, Military Secrets Unsafe for the Public!"

This fear phobia has infected many branches of Congress. It seems enough to drag the red herring of communism over any and every path to give it the kiss of death. It is a favorite device to damn a measure or a man—or a woman, for that matter. Everyone is suspect.

This incident is a case in point. After walking miles of stone and marble corridors, the open door of the House hearings on un-American activities beckoned. The room was crowded to the doors. Photo bulbs flashed. The audience leaned forward to hear the testimony. Two tightly gloved, prim-hatted matrons, next to me, consulted each other.

"Isn't that a head of Molotov she's wearing?" my neighbor clipped in my ear as she frowned in the direction of a young woman who leaned against the wall near us.

"Who's wearing what?" I answered.

"That girl there. That's a head of Molotov she's got pinned to her coat lapel."

It looked more like a Santa Claus to me and I said so. But my professional patriot would not have it so, insisting vehemently: "That's what they're doing now. Wearing Molotov's head!"

But my suggestion that she find out directly was hastily refused. I motioned to the girl and put the question to her.

"What? This?" was her puzzled reply as she touched the pin. "Why that's the head of a Japanese god I picked up in a PX in Japan."

One wondered, however, if those suspicions were completely laid to rest in a mind that viewed the world through the jaundiced film of suspicion, and saw a bogie-man on every coat lapel!

There are signs that the man in the street is more politically aware and wiser than ever before. But he still must learn that the time to influence legislation is long before it gets to the floor of either the House or the Senate in the form of a bill. It asks too much of any man to ask him to reverse himself on any legislation after he has publicly announced his position.

The public in general is naïve about committee hearings. By the time a measure is reported out of committee in the form of a bill, such as H. R. (meaning House Rule) 4278, it has made its most important stride toward ultimate adoption by the House. At that point the members of the committee have, for the most part, put themselves on record as opposing or supporting the measure. Of course, a member of a committee may oppose reporting out a bill, though he personally supports the measure. Such considerations as

political expediency, timing, and other pieces of legislation on the agenda may be the cause for such seeming inconsistency. For example, it was obvious during the hearings of the Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee that certain members were in favor of the measure. They voted the measure out favorably to the full committee. Yet when the full committee met to vote out a bill, they stayed away from the committee session, hoping to prevent a quorum vote and thus prevent the advance of the measure. In this case there were ample reasons for such a maneuver.

There is irrefutable evidence that a concerted, well-planned propaganda campaign has been carried on by the military and some veteran groups to "sell" UMT to the American public. Investigations by the Harness Subcommittee, of the Committee on Executive Expenditures, have disclosed the ingenious way in which the Army has been "selling" the Fort Knox experiment as a model UMT unit to the American people. News reels, movies, news features, magazine articles, radio discussions, plus the well-publicized Fort Knox experiment, have done an effective job in conditioning the American mind to a principle of militarism which always has been anathema to it in the past.

The subcommittee, under Representative Towe, considered H.R. (Continued on page 17)

Why I Oppose Peacetime Conscription

*By Hanson W. Baldwin **

THREE will be no time; there is no defense."

Again and again and again since Hiroshima, scientists and soldiers have warned that in another war attack will come with devastating swiftness from the skies; that ability to make immediate and overwhelming retaliation in kind is the only way of averting such attack or of winning such a war.

Yet today the War Department is trying to erect a Maginot Line of bodies. Like the French Minister of War, whose name is now a synonym for futility, the Army is strongly supporting a great deception—a defensive and obsolescent concept of war. Once again, as after World War I, the military are demanding peacetime conscription as "vital to American security." But peacetime conscription—particularly the six-month universal-training plan now advocated—is a horse-and-buggy military policy in an atomic and missile age. It would put millions of quarter-trained "bodies" into uniform on any future Mobilization Day—an army as helpless to ward off attack upon our cities as the Polish cavalry was against the Ger-

man tanks of 1939. It would provide neither time nor defense; and what is worse, its adoption would handicap the development of a realistic modern military policy.

This is not to argue against preparedness, which is more important today than at any time in the nation's history. But what is essential to adequate preparedness is sound policy and administration; if the policy is unsound, the physical strength supporting that policy may be worse than useless.

Prior to the U. S. entry into World War II the draft had been in effect for more than a year, and the National Guard had been ordered to active duty. But Japan attacked us and (except on Bataan) our first divisions did not get into action until almost a year later. The delay was not training, but unsound policy and administration. The National Guard divisions—many of them with inefficient officers and noncoms—had to be virtually pulled apart and built again, a more difficult task than training a new division from scratch. And the provision of equipment and of shipping—always a more time-consuming job than training—took many months even after the men were mobilized and trained.

Consider the present: For ten

* From *The Reader's Digest*, July, 1947. Reprinted with permission. Hanson W. Baldwin is an Annapolis graduate, former naval officer, and now military expert of *The New York Times*.

years—probably more, hardly less—the art of war will focus around the weapons and equipment that won the last war. Aircraft carriers, piloted planes, submarines, and, on the ground, tanks and guns and men will still comprise the backbone of our military strength. The atomic bomb will have to be carried, until “push-button” war is more fully developed, in piloted planes, which means that a reasonably effective defense (though not a 100 per cent defense) against it may be possible. Until ocean-leaping robot weapons are fully developed, ground armies will continue to be of great importance. And it is in precisely this development period that the United States will have on call one of the greatest mass reserves in the world—the millions of veterans of World War II—trained far more thoroughly by one to four years of wartime service than any six-month peacetime trainee could possibly be.

Long-range missiles with atomic war heads plunging into American cities will probably herald the start of any future war. If such weapons are used, the war may well be won or lost in the first few hours or days or weeks. We can lessen the shock of such attack by dispersion, proper civilian-defense measures, etc., but we cannot hope by any means now foreseeable to erect even a reasonably effective defense against supersonic rockets. This means that instant retaliation against the enemy

—by robots and piloted planes, by missiles launched from ships, by air-borne troops—will be vital. Unless such retaliation is immediate and overwhelming we shall have lost the war. Very clearly, therefore, our future military policy cannot be erected on the quicksand of millions of quarter-trained ground soldiers. The emphasis must be on our regular full-time professional forces—organized and highly trained for instant offensive missions. We shall need great numbers of rockets and robots and widely dispersed launching sites; great fleets of long-range piloted planes; high-speed missile-launching submarines and fast surface craft; and a few divisions or task forces of air-borne and amphibious troops ready to seize necessary advanced bases or to raid enemy missile-launching sites.

It is true that men in great numbers will be needed if another war comes. In addition to the regular forces thousands and hundreds of thousands of men—and women too—must be especially organized, trained, and directed in a semi-military manner for disaster control and “home-front” duties. The need for such a force is obvious if one imagines just one atomic bomb bursting in the heart of New York City. The National Guard, reorganized and reoriented, or some specially created state forces, federally directed, must assume this mission.

In addition to these civilian de-

fense forces there must be reserve cadres which can serve as the framework for the expansion, after "M Day," of our regular forces—particularly of our ground army. There are two conceivable situations in future war in which large ground armies might continue to have great importance. It is possible that the atomic bomb may never be used; that possibility may even become a probability if our regular forces are well enough prepared for overwhelming retaliation. It is also possible, even if atomic bombs and long-range missiles should be used, that the first round of assault would not be decisive and that the war would become one of attrition. In either case, ground armies of large size certainly would be necessary to occupy conquered territory and to help to seize air and sea bases.

Yet in either case peacetime conscription is not necessary. A reinvigorated National Guard and Reserve with proper appropriations, carefully screened to exclude political influences, can provide the cadre of a large reserve ground army, to be mobilized after M Day. The men drafted—in wartime or as a political crisis approached—to fill out this cadre would be trained under wartime incentive. A better army would result, and since it takes longer to equip an army than it does to train it, the divisions would be fully trained by the time we could transport them overseas.

The advocates of peacetime universal military training say it will save money and make a large professional army unnecessary. This is the worst kind of deception and the most fallacious argument offered. Even if UMT is adopted, the permanent size of our postwar army is planned at 875,000 men (including the Air Forces), more than three times bigger than our prewar army. Conscription cannot possibly reduce costs—nor can it, in the atomic age, eliminate the necessity for a professional full-time force. Actually UMT would mean the establishment of two armies—the regulars and the trainees—and would add immensely to both costs and numbers.

The great cost of peacetime conscription—estimated at anywhere between \$3,000,000,000 and \$5,000,000,000 annually—would divert funds from far more important military requirements, and the energies of 130,000 to 150,000 men of the regulars would have to be devoted exclusively—with resultant harm to tactical development and the training of our professional forces—to the cyclic basic training of mass reserves.

Our defense priorities, therefore, must be sharpened and revised.

Our first line of defense against war is our foreign policy; the State Department and Foreign Service should not be starved on a pittance of millions when the armed services

(Continued on page 24)

“Universal” but Not “Military” Training

By Lynn Townsend White *

AMERICANS want security so desperately that, like thirsty men lost in a desert, they are in danger of mistaking a mirage for the real thing. This is why the article by Cord Meyer, Jr., “What Price Preparedness?” in the June *Atlantic Monthly* is “must” reading for those who wish to see the proposal for universal, compulsory, peacetime military training—UMT—in perspective as by far the least important if not a wholly needless part of such security as may be ours. Real security comes through the prevention of war by multilateral agreement, with a mouthful of teeth in it, to use collective action against an aggressor. But because the monumental irony of our and Russia’s reverence for the anachronism of national sovereignty may prevent this for an unpredictably long time, William C. Bullitt says that “we can build up such a moral and physical force against the totalitarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union, that when it has succeeded in manufacturing the atomic bomb it will not dare to use it.” This is wisdom of a high order if it does not betray us into believing that our lead in discovering and manufacturing costly atomic bombs

is a guarantee of security as long as we keep the lead. The official Merck Report on biological warfare warns that the development of agents of such warfare is now possible in many countries, large and small, at relatively low cost and without huge production facilities easily visible to inspectors.

If we are subject to the devastating ravages of incurable pestilences artificially created by an enemy, our trust in our atomic superiority may prove to be a lethal gas. Therefore, says Mr. Meyer, “preparedness to defend the nation must be supplemented by preparedness to endure the loss of our urban industry and population and to preserve from wreckage the ability to strike back in equal force.” (See below General Wainright’s statement of the size of the force needed.) The enforced dispersal of industries and population and the sheltering of them in caverns capable of being sealed off against the radioactivity and bacteria of the outside atmosphere would give us the highest returns in ability to endure disaster and to strike back. There is need for a home-defense force, says Mr. Meyer, to organize “the civilian survivors . . . for guerrilla action against the invading air-borne armies of the enemy,” but he adds that these half-trained re-

* Professor of Christian social ethics, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Calif.

serves would be useful only as guerrillas or relief workers, and possibly "as a *final* means of convincing an aggressor that the nation is prepared to endure to the end."

What, then, is the measure of "the real capacity of a country to resist" under the conditions of a future war? *Not* "the number of reserves it has trained for infantry action," *but* "the size of its stockpiles of the most destructive weapons (including bombs and bacteria), the extent of its industrial dispersion, the number and degree of readiness of its *highly specialized professionals* who continuously man the bombing fleets and rocket launchers, make up the mobile striking force, and operate the antiaircraft installations."

In addition to the above, the Government must maintain "the most efficient intelligence system in the world," private enterprise must be made subject to a "national defense plan that will have to direct the entire economy," and the civil liberties we take for granted must be "severely decreased."

Military men so frequently call ministers of the Gospel "wishful thinkers" that I have chosen as my "center of resistance" to their UMT proposal the blackest picture of our defense needs yet written by a responsible thinker. This diagnostician does not include in "the real capacity of a country to resist" the half training of a mass army of civilian soldiers who, according to the

proposal for UMT, could not "continuously man the bombing fleets," et cetera, demanded by the unpredictably sudden surprise attack with which the next war will begin. In fact, "the number of reserves [a nation] has trained for infantry action" is expressly omitted from the items of "the real capacity of a country to resist" in the war that is feared. Mr. Meyer's specifications of real preparedness afford abundant warrant for Senator Robert Taft's assertion in July, 1947, that he would fight UMT "to the bitter end" because it is "wasteful and obsolete." Also it should be fought because it is a sleeping powder, not security, since it would not do any of the really important things that even a modicum of security will require.

I respectfully submit that the American people should reject this astounding proposal of UMT for the following reasons:

1. The "home-defense force" that will be needed in the event of a disastrous war should include the eighteen-year-old boys who, under the UMT proposal, would be carried away to distant barracks solely for military training. These can be trained more efficiently and economically in their local communities by high-school teachers, doctors, nurses, businessmen, and other trusted leaders of their communities to meet such needs as arose at Hiroshima where a Japanese Methodist minister proved to be the man best "trained"

to meet the situation: Specialists in fighting have little or no competence to give every kind of conceivable aid to maimed and dying men, women, and children. The training needed can best be given in the thousands of existing schools, community houses, parish houses, fire houses located in every considerable community in the nation. Furthermore, it should be given to women and girls no less than to men and boys, thereby gratifying the President's reported dislike of the word "military." The people of the nation had a freshman course in this sort of thing when our cities were organized block by block for disaster relief during the recent war. Such security as can be salvaged out of the inconceivably terrible destruction of another war cannot be handed to us by boys half trained as soldiers. All of us, women and girls, no less than men and boys, must become a universal Red Cross Relief Corps.

2. The "highly specialized professionals" whose continuous duties are listed above in the words of Mr. Meyer, can and should be recruited, trained, and maintained by the regular armed services of the nation, aided by the National Guard, Naval Militia, R.O.T.C., and other civilian units, all of which civilian units train with equipment kept in local armories or at established colleges and universities. If the excellent V-12 system is not only continued in our

colleges and universities but extended and adapted to our nearly 30,000 high schools, the reserves of young men and women the professional armed forces will need in the event of war could be recruited, sifted, and trained in basic essentials while receiving their education in their home communities.

As recently as August 14, 1947, General Jonathan M. Wainwright declared that "the Army needs 1,750,000 effectives to fight another war I hope never comes. I mean a regular army of 875,000, a National Guard of 685,000, and an organized reserve of 195,000." It is incredible that a million years of the lives of our eighteen-year-old boys must be consumed annually to secure this force!

3. Under UMT a critically important year of every American boy used up in military training would needlessly postpone the preparation of our young men to serve their nation in other than military ways.

During the recent war, Russia and Britain exempted their promising young scientists from military duty in the interest of their nations. The best scientific brains are under thirty years of age, yet so blind were we in our uncritical obeisance to pseudo-democracy that we thrust into uniform 300,000 young men who could have served their country far better as scientists than as soldiers. Dr. Charles L. Parsons, secretary of the

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Propaganda for War Must End

*By Charles J. Turck**

ON JULY 24, 1947, Honorable Forest A. Harness, chairman of a subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, submitted to the speaker of the House a report which concludes as follows:

"Your committee, therefore, reports its firm conclusion that, on the basis of the evidence at hand, the War Department, its personnel, and civilian employees have gone beyond the limits of their proper duty of providing factual information to the people and the Congress and have engaged in propaganda supported by taxpayers' money to influence legislation now pending before the Congress."

The report was approved and signed by all five members of the subcommittee, Representatives Forest A. Harness, James W. Wadsworth, Henry J. Latham, Carter Manasco, and J. Frank Wilson.

Since July 24, 1947, the War Department has continued its propaganda methods most intensively but warily, inviting educators to visit the Fort Knox UMT experimental unit, getting educators to speak at so-called educational gatherings for the Universal Military Training Bill, filling the newspapers with in-

terviews given out by any civilian or military person who can be persuaded to pronounce judgment on the issue. The whole force of American propaganda agencies is being released on the American mind, exactly as has been done for worthy and for unworthy causes in past years. One trembles for our democracy when he realizes the unbounded power of these propaganda agencies when they unite to accomplish a single purpose, backed by the President of the United States and the War Department, and spurred on by an unreasoning fear of Russia and the imagined collapse of the capitalist system.

No one can reasonably complain of wise and effective efforts to protect our nation from violent communistic agitators or more dangerous plotters. Nor can one object to the presentation of all the values that inhere in the American system of relatively free enterprise. (There is no such thing as absolute freedom of enterprise or absolute freedom to enjoy any other right, except in a state of anarchy.) But at the present time, the fear of a Russian attack on America, sole possessor of the atomic bomb, or on American-held positions throughout the world, would seem to be groundless. The chance of overthrowing private capi-

* President, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.

talism when it now sustains a nation employing sixty million persons seems to be likewise so small as to be ridiculous. Yet it is at this time that mass propaganda threatens to seize every young man at the age of eighteen and take him for one year of intensive military training and indoctrination. The hysteria would be absurd if it were not for its tragic possibilities.

It is a crime against a free people when powerful agencies, led by Government officers, try to create an emotional situation that deprives the people of the exercise of their reason and forces them to become slaves of their fears and prejudices. It is not easy to distinguish between these abuses practiced by American organs of public opinion and the course Hitler used to obtain power in Germany.

There is nothing more terrifying than the danger that the unregulated development of unprincipled propaganda techniques may outmaneuver the common sense and calm judgment of the American people. The campaign to force universal military training on our people, at a time when military men occupy already too large a place in the council of one of our less dominating civilian presidents, is a sinister process.

Dr. Ralph McDonald, of the National Education Committee, recently declared that there are two ways of destroying human freedom —negative and positive. "Soviet

Russia is giving a perfect indication of how to destroy freedom both ways. . . . [Russia acts] through concentration camps, through censorship, through every means for punishing individuals for being an individual. They suppress freedom. That is the negative procedure. There is, however, an equally devastating way to destroy human freedom, and that is to establish Government agencies and give to them the channels or the money by which to use the channels of influencing public opinion." That is the positive way, illustrated by Russia and also by the War Department of the United States.

Practically every Church, farm-labor, and educational group in the United States has gone on record as opposing conscription in peace time, and except for the withdrawal of a few individual clergymen and college presidents, these declarations remain unchanged. Many have been reaffirmed at the 1947 meetings of the national bodies. The report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training has been specifically rejected by such men as Francis L. Bacon, chairman of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association; George A. Buttrick, pastor of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City; Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson and editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*;

Dr. Rufus C. Harris, president of Tulane University; Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Rev. William J. Millor, S. J., president of the University of Detroit; and Dr. Harold Taylor, president, Sarah Lawrence College.

It is to be expected that the presidents of the small Church-related liberal arts colleges without R.O.T.C. units will continue their opposition, not because their type of college and the women's colleges are the only types of institutions that cannot participate in any phase of the Army plan, but because there is a fundamental inconsistency between the free pursuit of truth for which these colleges stand and military indoctrination. On the shoulders of these colleges may rest the defense of American liberty against the frightened militarists and all their cohorts. As one of the six hundred of these college presidents facing a grim problem, I am proud to say to the War Department: "We are not for sale; we cannot be bought by R.O.T.C. units, trips to Fort Knox, or visits from high-ranking generals. We are for peace and international justice and good will. If peacetime conscription ever becomes the law of America, you can count on us and our colleges and Churches to oppose the law with all the weapons of learning and ridicule and controversy that we can command.

We shall never surrender the duty of encouraging young Americans to trust their own unconquerable minds, rather than the sharp command of military superiors. War propaganda will be beaten back from our campus and our pulpit. And in the end, learning and religion will come again to triumph."

Laborers and farmers are standing with the Churchmen and the educators on this issue. Where are the Christian businessmen, the Christian industrialists, the Christian financiers? They could stop this fearful flood of propaganda if they would simply say to the War Department: "Come to your senses, gentlemen. Our capitalist system is not in danger. Russia is not going to attack America. With malice toward none, with charity for all, let us bind up the world's wounds, and train our boys for the constructive works of peace and not in futile preparation for a third World War."

Our great Christian leadership in business and industry and finance could speak this word, if it dared. Let it speak now, and avoid the tragic blunder that Christian leadership in Germany made as Hitler rose to power. Let us end this hysteria, get the facts before the people's representatives in Congress assembled, and rededicate ourselves to the historic position of the United States as a free democracy—*no* conscription of American youth in time of peace.

Voluntary Total Abstinence Through Education

*By Earl F. Zeigler **

A VOLUNTARY total abstainer is any person who chooses to live a normal, gracious life without using beverage alcohol in any form. The assumption is strong that such a choice would be the result of education. The adjective "voluntary" indicates that the person who abstains has had some definite part in the decision to abstain.

A total abstainer who did so because of doctor's orders, prohibition, or some other external restraint would not belong to the category of "voluntary total abstainers."

Voluntary total abstinence through education is being presented for your consideration as a way of working at the alcohol problem. It is not claimed that this is the only way that should be used, but to the speaker it is a conviction that Churches, public schools, women's clubs, and other agencies can use education as their best tool for teaching voluntary total abstinence.

Neither do I wish to claim at this point that education which produces voluntary total abstinence for many will produce it for all. There are many among us in the United States who have never preferred total abstinence and never will as long as

they can make or procure something to drink. And these people must be in our thinking, for as long as some want to drink there will be a demand for the manufacture and sale of beverage alcohol. Often those who want to drink will want others to drink with them. Thus social pressures and social inheritance will continue to create drinkers at the same time that voluntary total abstinence through education is being promoted.

In trying to visualize the people in the United States to be reached with the goal of voluntary total abstinence, the following classifications are suggested:

1. Those with a social inheritance that includes the use of beverage alcohol.

2. Those who have more recently acquired the custom of using beverage alcohol in their business and/or social life, not because of social inheritance primarily, but because of social pressures, or of a desire to achieve a status which they believe is more desirable than that which practices total abstinence.

These first two classifications probably include the main body of the sixty million or so adults in the United States who use alcohol in the so-called moderate amounts.

3. Chronic drinkers and alcoholics.

* Editor for adult publications, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. Condensed from an address given by Dr. Zeigler at the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies, August, 1947.

4. The millions of youth.
5. The children who are obviously not drinkers to any appreciable extent.
6. The forty-five millions of our adult population who are already voluntary total abstainers and who presumably will remain so if sufficient motivation for abstinence is offered.

If this sixfold classification is inclusive and exclusive, it comprises the entire population of the United States as potential pupils in this school of education on voluntary total abstinence.

Let us give education for voluntary total abstinence its hardest test by trying to visualize how it will work on the first two groups that were mentioned in the sixfold classification, namely, drinkers who have become so largely by social inheritance, and, secondly, those who have more recently acquired the custom because of social pressures. These two groups are socially approved by millions. In fact, they are supposed by some schools of thinkers to be the solution to the alcohol problem. They are known as the "moderate" drinkers. They are supposed to drink for reasons of sociability, relaxation, and psychological stimulation. They are what many call "normal" drinkers. Their drinking is the "casual way in which the normal, well-adjusted person fits liquor into his life and the use that he makes of it."

Personally I cannot subscribe to this glossy description of the moderate drinker, but I am willing to admit that an exceedingly large number of people in the United States believe that the moderate drinker is an asset rather than a liability in the solution of the alcohol problem.

Now, what right have the advocates of total abstinence to do missionary work on these two groups, when these groups are already fairly well satisfied with their way of life and are not clamoring to have it changed? They are willing to pay the price economically that it costs them to drink, and they believe that the end results (for them at least) are not a "lost week end."

Or, what right have the total abstainers to seek such vaccination of this group as will immunize them against the desire for beverage alcohol?

The answer is that the advocates of total abstinence are practitioners of a nonalcoholic way of life which gives them much satisfaction. Many of these total abstainers have been sufficiently familiar with the use of beverage alcohol personally as to have a basis of comparison between alcoholic and nonalcoholic ways of life. They know from experience, therefore, the abiding values of abstinence. If it be argued that the moderate drinker may also have had an experience with the nonalcoholic way of life and has consciously

adopted the use of alcohol, all we can say is that the conclusion to drink carries more social responsibility than the conclusion not to drink. This statement is made on the premise that those who drink alcohol moderately cannot be certain that they will not drink it immoderately at times and become a social liability. The number of people who figure in accidents where alcohol is involved are seldom dead-drunk. They are simply under the influence to an extent which makes them mechanically dangerous.

We therefore arrive at the working hypothesis that total abstainers are justified in seeking to educate moderate drinkers to become total abstainers.

Education for Total Abstinence

The educational program for voluntary total abstinence will have to be informal, casual, but nonetheless make use of effective methods of propaganda and education. The radio program which featured Dr. Jellinek, Marty Mann, and others, over a period of months was not directed toward making total abstainers, but it was the kind of program which the advocates of total abstinence would certainly refer to in getting people to think about the alcohol problem.

Articles in popular magazines, movies like *Lost Week End*, while not advocating total abstinence for the rank and file of people, are never-

theless resource material which the advocates of total abstinence will use.

The Yale School of Alcohol Studies, while not on record either for moderation, total abstinence, or controlled consumption, or any other specific aspect of action on the alcohol problem, does furnish resource material that total abstainers will use in their educational program.

The whole public-school system is open to a program of alcohol education. Its stated objectives may not include total abstinence as a goal, but in the teaching about alcohol many children and young people will certainly come to their own conclusions about their use of alcohol. They will become total abstainers.

The Churches, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, either feel obligated on a Church-wide basis to teach total abstinence among their members, or they have organizations within their bodies that promote total abstinence. For example, within the Roman Catholic Church there is a Catholic total abstinence union. They have crusades for total abstinence. I have in my files correspondence with a representative of this organization.

The Methodist Church, on the other hand, is an example of a denomination that seeks to educate all its members to adopt and practice

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Mrs. G. Goes to Washington*(Continued from page 4)*

4121 from Monday until Saturday of the same week. Though it was evident during hearings that week that most of the members had not even had a chance to read the seventy-six-page bill (one third of this listed punishments and penalties), the measure was voted out favorably on Saturday. By Monday morning a complete bill, H.R. 4278, had been drawn up and was in printed form, a haste which is not hard to explain. By Friday of that week H.R. 4278 was reported favorably out of the Armed Services Committee. It is not surprising that many of the committee members had not analyzed the threat of UMT to basic American concepts and institutions.

Since UMT means military designation of colleges approved for ROTC units and other alternative training choices, it can mean few or no male students for many colleges, and for others, the threat of loss of academic freedom. Fear has already cast its shadow ahead. One Midwest, Church-supported college, whose denomination is on record in opposition to UMT, feared the possibility of discrimination against it if they were on record as having opposed UMT. The whole relationship between the Church-related college and UMT has certainly not been adequately explored and defined. It is unthinkable that a measure, fraught with such significance, should become basic American policy, when the very survival of free education is at stake.

"The Plan for National Security," brought in by President Truman's commission, which was strongly weighted by avowed supporters of UMT, expressed doubt as to the wisdom and desirability of UMT should it be adopted out of relation to other and more vital elements in its recommended program. Speaking of health, education, scientific research, a highly trained Army, Navy, Air Force,

and an adequate Intelligence Service, the commission said: "If the introduction of UMT should have such an indirect effect of weakening rather than strengthening the other elements of our national security, then our commission is of the firm opinion that the adoption of UMT would be a mistake and would diminish rather than increase our national security."

Former Assistant Secretary of War Petersen is said to have remarked in private conversation that if they didn't get UMT through this Congress they wouldn't get it at all. The military pressure for enactment is at its peak. With H.R. 4278 advanced to the powerful Rules Committee, and the possibility of hearings in the Senate Armed Services Committee during the fall recess, we may expect a powerful drive for enactment into law at the opening of the second session of this Congress.

In looking back over two weeks of attendance on committee hearings, gallery glimpses of Congress in action, conversations with Government people, contacts with other "legislative listeners," and a schedule crowded with personal interviews with Congressmen from every section of the country, one is forced to pass on a few observations:

1. That you, as a Christian, belie and defeat your avowed purposes through indifference, ineptitude, and ignorance in the field of public policy.
2. That free institutions survive only when the people support and encourage courageous political leadership in the public interest (not in the interest of minority pressure groups).
3. That the facts, and *all the facts*, must be made easily available to the Churchman, so that he may act intelligently according to the highest dictates of his Christian conscience.
4. That the Churchman must become politically aware, adept, and public-policy conscious.

Is Russia Our Peril?

*By James D. Smart**

A VERY simple observation about the working of the human mind is that when it is concentrated intensely upon one point it is likely to be unaware of things happening away from the point of concentration. Whenever Hitler was about to put over one of his great frauds on the German people, *he always* distracted attention from what he was doing by directing the nation's concern to some great peril such as communism or the Jews. It is an old trick, and one would think that the common people of the world would have got onto it by this time.

Yet today in our Western world something similar is happening. Ninety-eight per cent of the newspapers and magazines are building up the idea in people's minds that the one great peril to Western civilization is Russian communism, and already a mood has been created which would almost welcome a war tomorrow. It does no good for the experts to tell us that Russia lost over twenty million soldiers and civilians in the war, that she suffered the complete devastation of an area equal to a quarter of the United States, and that she cannot possibly go to war within twelve years' time.

It does no good for the atomic scientists to tell us that if we insist on another war half the human race will be wiped out and civilization will revert to the state of the cave man. How can a few experts hope to be heard or believed when the authority of a thousand newspapers is pitted against them? Therefore fear of Russia sweeps across the nation like a forest fire, and few are the minds able to stand out against it.

Why are the agencies that are most effective in shaping public opinion whipping up an intensity of fear and distrust in regard to Russia? It could be that our attention is so concentrated in one direction that we shall not notice what is happening in other directions.

In normal times a furor would have been roused all across the United States if it had been announced that the Government was giving encouragement and support to a ruthless dictator such as Peron in the Argentine. In a land that has no aggressor nation to fear, the Argentine is spending half the national revenue on armaments—for what purpose one may well ask! Only an America blinded by fear could view with unconcern the encouragement of such a sinister power to the south of us. Peron is all right, because he fears and hates Russia too!

* Associate Secretary, Division of Education in Home, Church, and Community, and Editor in Chief for the New Curriculum, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

Reports from Europe tell how former Fascists and Nazis are using our fear of Russia for their own advantage. They are so alert and useful in regard to the Red peril that it becomes easy to overlook the fact that they detest democracy as much as they detest communism. It does not strengthen the confidence of the common people of Europe in the integrity of our democratic principles to see us making such allies.

The same effect is observable at home. The more intense the fear of Russia becomes, the less sensitive we are to very real dangers from within. We know that there are forces within the nation which dream of a militarized America strong enough to enforce its will upon all nations great and small. James Burnham's *Struggle for Power* which proposes an American world empire with every nation made to submit to our rule has received praise in some surprisingly influential circles. These and other forces of a similar nature would soon be discredited if the people were to look squarely at them. But who looks squarely at them when all the intensity of his national concern is fixed upon the peril of Russia? Let us beware lest we awaken one day from this coma of fear and find that we have committed ourselves to policies and alliances more disastrous by far than anything Russia could do to us.

It is against this background that the question of peacetime military

training should be considered. If we can be made to think that war with Russia is coming within the next year or so, then we are likely to approve the plan as admirable common sense. Those who are anxious to militarize the youth of America *must* convince us that war is almost at hand or the traditions of this land would never tolerate the approval of such a plan. If we can be made to tremble with fear at the very mention of Russia, then our consent will follow as a matter of course. Surely there is something in the Christian faith which stands and must stand against such crass promotion of fear. This propaganda should meet an iron wall of resistance in the Christian community.

The question of universal military training is only part of a larger question: Which direction is America taking for the future? Already we are the most powerful nation, economically and militarily, that the world has ever known. But we are at a crossroads. We may go on to be known as a militarized power before which all peoples, large and small, will have to bow in fear. Or we may take our place in a society of nations, as one among many, asking no more than that each has its rightful opportunity. Already we have taken steps in the direction of going our way alone. The passage of universal military training might well be the decisive commitment to the false path into the future.

For Tim

The Modern Social Gospel

A Pacific Coast radio evangelist said recently in New York, "American young people are not interested in the modern social Gospel." The speaker was misled and misleading. There is one Gospel. It is modern because it is timeless. The concerns of the social Gospel are as modern as the entreaty of the latest victim of the lynch law and as old as Jesus' message by the well to a woman of the Samaritans, with whom the Jews would have no dealing. Social Education and Action is concerned with plain Christian living. We seek knowledge of Christ which, beginning with the Jesus of history and sacred record, becomes for each believer at length a satisfying experience with the blessed Companion—the Lord of all life.

Our religion that presents the love of God for man is one that must be more than read about or talked about; it must be put into practice. This means that religion and politics do mix. Religion and business mix. Religion and recreation mix. In fact, unless religion controls all areas of life, our faith loses its significance, and life its value. Christ's coming influenced life profoundly. He came that we might have life and have it abundantly. He is an unbeliever who when religion becomes relevant taboos it! Every valid Christian experience moves from knowledge to action. "Whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man." There is a mutuality between faith and works. "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God." The vital relation of doctrine to practice must never be lost sight of. Hundreds have lost their faith through neglect of doctrine; thousands have lost their faith by refusing its practice. Men prove their faith for themselves as well as to others not alone or primarily by cogent debate but by convincing living. According to Zwingli, "A Christian man's business is not to talk grandly about dogmas but always to be doing arduous and great things in fellowship with God." The setting for these lines in Harnack's *Textbook of the History of Dogma* is also pertinent to our argument: "Therefore the goal of all Christian work, even all theological work, can only be this—to discern ever more distinctly the simplicity and seriousness of the Gospel in order to become ever stronger and purer in spirit, and ever more loving and brotherly in action." Jesus requires action of his disciples. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven."

Take These

Hope for Man The present famine of "loving and brotherly" action in the life of the nation and the world reveals the amount of "Christian work" we have to do. World Order Sunday, October 26, will find us still in a disorderly world. But we do not believe it is a hopeless world.

No Christian can despair of or give up this world for which Christ died. Yet we are being asked to approve policies now being pressed upon us which manifestly originated in the hearts of men who despair of a just and orderly world. However earnestly such plans may be set forth as "realistic" they must be rejected as premised on a concept of man and God at variance with that which we embrace. We will have no part in policies that have no place for either faith in God or hope for man.

Peacetime Training? In these critical weeks we must give our attention to the consequences of the peacetime training program as set forth in the report of the President's commission and the Towe Bill, reported out of committee just before Congress adjourned.

An Analysis of the Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training will be mailed by this Division to the Social Education and Action chairmen and secretaries of the presbyteries and presbyterials. Additional copies may be secured directly from any Westminster Book Store or from the Division of Social Education and Action.

We expect to publish *What Price Preparedness?* by Cord Meyers, Jr., from the June *Atlantic Monthly* in the next issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. This article with the one by Hanson Baldwin, reprinted in this issue, will be made available for general distribution as "Today and Tomorrow" leaflets if there is sufficient demand.

It is imperative that the strong approval for peacetime training, reported by the polls, be reversed and a compelling demand be made this fall and winter for the decisive rejection by Congress of peacetime training.

A reasonable estimate of the cost of the training program is three to five billion dollars. This is approximately the amount that would be required to implement the Marshall Plan for Europe's recovery. We hope that the Marshall approach will mature rapidly so that a plan which will not allow an unregenerate Germany to rebuild her war machine can be presented to Congress and to the nation for action. The situation in Europe is so acute that a special session of Congress will surely be required to meet it.

Unsolved Japanese-American Problems

*By Gordon K. Chapman **

MANY Americans, having taken cognizance of the fine war record of the Nisei and having witnessed their kindly reception in many communities, assume that this minority group no longer suffers from racial discrimination. The fact remains, that the civil rights of persons of Japanese ancestry are still in jeopardy in parts of the United States.

The Synod of California, at its annual meeting, gave due recognition to this situation when it adopted a series of resolutions intended to facilitate the securing of just treatment for the Nisei and their parents. Dillon S. Myer, wartime director of WRA, has recently called attention to some of the problems that must be solved if this group is to achieve the full status that it should have in our society. According to this authority, serious damage was done to thousands of persons by the evacuation and life in the relocation centers, and property losses were suffered which require fair compensation. "State and Federal laws are still on the books which single out Japanese and other Orientals for discriminatory treatment; these need modification or repeal."

According to President Truman, "the fears which impelled the Government to adopt the harsh expedient of excluding Americans of Japanese ancestry from strategic military areas have, most happily, proved largely groundless." In the words of the Secretary of the Interior, the loyalty of this minority group "is convincingly indicated by the outstanding record of those who served in the armed forces, and by the records of the intelligence agencies which show no case of sabotage or espionage by residents of Japanese ancestry during the entire war." Thus the proponents of the exclusion orders of 1942 are driven to defend the policy on the dubious ground of "protective custody"—an ominous word to any person who is familiar with the Nazi policy of liquidation of the Jews through "protective custody." The fact is that the evacuation policy now constitutes a legal precedent, which, in the words of Justice Jackson of the Supreme Court, "lies about like a loaded weapon ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forth a plausible claim of an urgent need." Prof. E. V. Rostow, of Yale, asserts that "unless repudiated, this precedent may be used to support devastating and unforeseen social and political conflicts." The Synod of

* Field Representative for Japanese Work, Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

California has, therefore, urged the President's Committee on Civil Rights to re-examine the record and provide an opportunity for the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of the Military Exclusion Orders of 1942.

Both Houses of Congress have recently recognized that some compensation was due the evacuees for the measurable and special losses which they incurred in wartime. Thus the Senate of the 79th Congress and the House of the 80th Congress have approved bills that provide for a special Claims Commission to adjudicate and settle claims of evacuees, within certain limits, for losses incurred by reason of the evacuation. The synod has, therefore, urged the members of Congress to give their support to an adequate Evacuee Claims Bill early in the next session of the 80th Congress.

Now that Nazi Germany is gone, the United States is the only important country that treats persons of certain "races" as unfit to become citizens. Of those persons "ineligible to citizenship," over 90 per cent are aliens of Japanese ancestry; most of them have been law-abiding residents of this country for twenty-five or more years. They are not only the parents of 33,000 Japanese-American G.I.'s who rendered valuable service in the war, but some, though classed as "enemy aliens," performed important and strategic services in counterintelligence, mili-

tary map drawing, interpreting and translating, thereby putting in jeopardy their Japanese citizenship. Many of these are denied occupational opportunities in keeping with their ability, not to mention the "equal protection of the laws." The widowed mother of a Congressional Medal of Honor winner who died in action cannot receive an old-age pension because she is ineligible to citizenship.

Outstanding leaders of Congress have already indicated that they favor some broadening of naturalization eligibility without respect to race. Thus the House of Representatives, in the last session, passed bills amending the deportation code to permit the Attorney General to exercise clemency in meritorious family hardship cases, without limitations due to race; extending naturalization rights, irrespective of race, to Gold Star parents, and those whose sons are Purple Heart veterans; and authorizing the entry into the United States of servicemen's wives classed as "racially inadmissible and ineligible to citizenship." Unfortunately, before the adjournment of Congress, the Senate concurred only in the last bill. Obviously, while these bills constitute steps in the right direction, a substantial number of worthy aliens are completely overlooked by such piecemeal legislation. Thus, the Synod of California has urged Congressmen to support

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Why I Oppose Peacetime Conscription

(Continued from page 7)

receive billions. A global intelligence service—the best in the world—able to give us warning of political crisis, is the second line of defense. A research and development program superior to any, and an industrial development and mobilization plan calculated to maintain and make quick military use of our industrial superiority are the next most important factors in any future military policy. And the maintenance and expansion of the service school system, which was such a major factor in our victory in World War II, occupies a high priority.

In the fighting services themselves we must give priority to the air, for our air power plus the American dollar must assume a major share of the burden of maintaining world peace. Sea power in all its forms must never be neglected; it still carries the indispensable bulk cargoes of the world—wheat, rubber, manganese, uranium ore, the sinews of war. A small but highly trained ground force—trained for air transportability and for amphibious landings—must be maintained. And back of these must be reserves in cadre form—to mitigate disaster to the "home front" and provide skeletal frameworks for a ground army.

In the international field, conscription never has tended to promote international understanding and peace. The United States is still striving—and must continue to strive—to make the United Nations workable. But it is clear that we cannot yet disarm unilaterally and entrust our safety to that organization. We must provide strong national military forces for our own defense and to back up the UN. But these forces must not be strong enough to be provocative, and above all they must be in accord with the basic concepts of democracy. There can be no

doubt that the greater the influence of the military, the greater the tendency toward militarism. Some military measures, therefore—peacetime conscription is one of them—would not only endanger our own democracy at home but would imperil peace abroad. We must walk the median line. In my opinion, the United States should strive—as one of its first objectives in the disarmament discussion now going on—to secure the gradual world-wide abolition of conscription. Its adoption by this country would be a backward step in international politics as well as in military policy.

Russia, the only other great protagonist in the drama of the world today, would not be impressed if we adopted UMT, for we would be leading from weakness—not from strength. Russia is impressed, not by American mass man power which she can outmatch, but by our factors of superiority—our industrial mass-production methods, our technical and engineering skills, our great air and sea power. Russia does not fear mass armies; she has met them before and they have recoiled in blood and death from her soil.

In the last analysis, peacetime conscription must be judged primarily on its military grounds. I have stated the arguments against it, but I do not speak alone. Many officers of our services oppose the War Department's plan, among them Major General John S. Wood, wartime commander of the famous Fourth Armored Division, who declares that UMT will not produce a single unit ready to fight. They are practically unanimous in their belief that UMT will not give us the M Day force we must have in the atomic age, and that it will tend to overemphasize half-trained reserves for a mass ground power and other more important elements of security.

We live in an insecure world. But we shall not find security by erecting a Maginot Line; peacetime conscription will give us the shadow and not the substance.

"Universal" but Not "Military" Training

(Continued from page 10)

American Chemical Society, referring to the fact that in the British Isles, Canada, and Russia during the war young scientists were crowding the technological schools to prepare for service in the postwar industries of their nations, said, "Public opinion of the future will be amazed at the waste of scientists in the Second World War."

4. The sample training camp at Fort Knox, Kentucky, has been acknowledged by one of its officers to be "an experiment that could not possibly be duplicated on a national scale either from the standpoint of personnel or that of cost."

5. UMT, besides being wasteful of the money of all of us and of the time and morality of some of us, proposes to fight the next war with the weapons of the last one: mass armies.

6. UMT has not prevented wars nor won the wars it could not prevent.

7. What General Eisenhower says UMT means is repugnant to the sensibilities of free men.

Testifying before the Woodrum Committee of the House on June 2, 1945, General Eisenhower said that the most important of the three purposes of UMT is "psychological indoctrination . . . (since) through it is obtained . . . an understanding of the basic justice of the fight the country is waging." This type of training, he added, "must be . . . incessant."

No one but a person of the utmost sincerity could make that frank statement to the nation without stopping to consider how it would sound in a civilian's ear.

8. As preparation for the much-feared war with Russia, UMT is doomed to fail.

Hanson W. Baldwin points out in *The New York Times* of May 4, 1947, that for the period in which the weapons and

techniques that won the last war will still have validity, the U.S. has a reserve of man power already trained far more thoroughly by one, two, four, or more years in the wartime services than any six-month trainee could be. Lieutenant Colonel Roscoe Conklin estimates this trained reserve force to be 5,000,000 men, though it is dwindling at a slow death rate. Certainly they could be refitted for active service more quickly, efficiently, and economically than UMT trainees could be made ready for service. Mr. Baldwin, therefore, urges the imperative need of our building up now "the threat of tremendous and overwhelming retaliation" by a force that will control the air and the sea, as "the greatest hope of victory, or of avoiding atomic attack." "This force," he says, "will need man power, but it must be full-time, highly trained man power, not half-baked, half-trained reserves."

9. Finally, and by way of summary: First, give the nation the most scientifically trained and technologically equipped force of full-time professional defenders of the nation that money, brains, and character can provide. Secondly, train the home-defense force at home where it will find its duty in disaster. Include in it every able-bodied youth and adult of both sexes, and train them in the thousands of existing institutions adapted to the purpose. Thirdly, leave the sifting and training of the first-call reserves in the hands of our colleges and universities, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, the R.O.T.C., and so forth, which have never failed the nation in time of need. Fourthly, pursue diligently our avowed purpose of making as much peace as we can around the world, of fighting hunger with food and relieving poverty with restored economic opportunity, and of winning and strengthening our ties with democratic allies wherever they may be found. If we go down while doing these things, our fate will be tempered by the knowledge that we had done our best to avert it.

Sanctuary *

"No Substitute for Love"

In his book *Love the Law of Life*, Kagawa begins with the exclamation, "Ah, this famine of love!"

When I first read these words I thought, "What an extravagant piece of Oriental sentimentalism." I now know that this was no sentimentalism at all, but a realistic diagnosis of the central sickness of our time.

The word "love" has been soiled and sugared and watered down by common usage until now the Church is afraid of it and is seeking to find some substitute. I once heard a distinguished theologian lecture for two hours on the principal teachings of Jesus and he never used the word "love" once. His theology was hard and cold and unconvincing. Obedience is no substitute for love and Christian thinkers had better not try to make it so.

"God is love." "Thou shalt love . . . with all thy heart." "A new commandment I give you, that ye *love one* another. . . . By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." "Tongues . . . shall cease; knowledge . . . shall be done away. . . . But now abideth faith, hope, love . . . and the greatest of these is love."

Better not try to drop that word or find a substitute.

There are many reasons why love is the supreme abiding reality—among them the fact that love is the only creative power in the universe. You can't make a rose bloom by beating it with a stick. You can't intimidate and bully a human life into transcending itself.

You cannot create peace without love. When love goes, peace goes. "God so loved . . . that he gave—On earth peace." That's how God did it. Men will never be able to do it any other way. Men always have imagined that they could make themselves safe by making themselves frightful. Yet the most insecure moment in our own national life was the moment we found ourselves with a complete monopoly of the most destructive weapon that had ever been devised. We've been seeing things under the bed ever since.

It is easy to persuade our countrymen to spend billions of dollars in the futile accumulation of ever more dreadful armaments. Yet Lord Wavell, while he was fighting Rommel's armies in Africa, exclaimed: "If only we spent half the energy and money building peace that we spend fighting wars, we wouldn't have to fight wars." He repeated the statement in his first address, three years later, after he became viceroy of India.

* Devotional used at the opening of International Sunday School Convention, Des Moines, Iowa, July 23-27, 1947.

Our great menace today is not the released atom. Nothing is so characteristic of atomic power as its terrible impartiality. It is as willing to warm our homes and bring in a new age of physical well-being and natural abundance as it is to destroy our cities and blow humanity off the face of the earth.

Our menace is where it always has been. It is still in its ancient lurking place, the dark night of the unredeemed human heart. There's where the explosion is brewing that may shortly be the end of everything.

The task of the Church is to teach that darkened, selfish, rebellious heart to yield itself in love to God. The Church must accomplish this through the ministry of self-giving love.

That is how God did it. When God set out to conquer the world he went through his armory and chose his most powerful instrument. He did not select the atomic energy with which he was exploding giant suns and stars. That might seem to have been the easier way.

God did it the hard way—because the hard way was the only way that would work. He chose love as his instrument. God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son.

Our task is to teach men to look at God's Son on his cross—to look to him and receive power to love and live.

Prayer:

Lord of all being, throned afar, who gave the numberless stars their existence, who called the sun from his abode; yet whose chosen dwelling place is the heart that seeketh after thee:

Come and dwell in our hearts.

Come and make our hearts thy home.

Forgive our sins, those turned pages in our lives that we look back upon with sorrow and shame.

Open our eyes that we may behold wondrous things out of thy law.

Let the words of our mouths and the thoughts of our hearts be acceptable in thy sight.

Bless with us all of thy children everywhere. Give us neither peace nor rest in our own hearts until we have done everything in our power to feed the hungry, heal the sick.

Oh—"Thou who didst

Multiply by Galilee

Scant loaves and fishes for humanity

Help us to multiply thy love and care

Till no least soul goes hungry anywhere."

Let thy Spirit glow within the hearts of the members and leaders of thy Church.

Let its ministry be a ministry of power and healing and life to thy world.

This we ask in the name of Him who, though he was rich, for our sakes became poor, and gave his life for us. Amen.

WORLD ORDER

The U. S. and the U. N.

The following pronouncements are taken from the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action to the 159th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

We believe that under the providence of God the United Nations may achieve such stature as to constitute a vitally needed instrument of salvation in the area of world order, justice, and peace. We therefore commend our Government for the pursuance of a foreign policy based upon the full and vigorous participation of the United States in the United Nations. We urge upon all our fellow Church members individual and group studies both of the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations in order to create within the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America an informed and dynamic will to assist our Government to such faithful and skillful participation in the United Nations as will make it an increasingly effective instrument for international cooperation.

We believe that under the providence of God the United States of America, as a nation, must prepare for and accept that responsibility for constructive international action commensurate with its great power and opportunity. This, that we may truly keep the faith with those who have given to the uttermost.

We view with alarm any disposition on the part of our Government to participate either in a policy of world despotism or in a policy of callous indifference to the affairs of other nations. We deplore and regret any action on the part of our Congress that infringes upon the rights of other nations.

We believe that the ultimate goal for world organization should be federal world government. The success of the United Nations is an important step toward this end.

We earnestly hope that the day is not far distant when at the opening of each session of the United Nations there may be a moment when each man may have opportunity to pray in his own way.

At all times we pledge the prayers of our Church and people for the guidance of these sessions.

Trusteeships

We believe that the colonial and dependent peoples have a right to expect the United States to champion the freedom of all peoples. We deplore the extent to which our Government has disappointed that hope. We are cheered by the creation of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and by the action of Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom in submitting trust agreements placing colonial territories under the general supervision of that Council. We believe that the United States faces an especially important responsibility with regard to the character of the control to be exercised over former Japanese possessions in the Pacific. . . .

We trust, therefore, that our Government will exercise the responsibility of these islands only until such time as the United Nations is in a position to assume this trusteeship.

International Trade Agreements

We believe that the greatest possible movement of trade among the nations is of crucial importance in building world peace. We favor the continuation of the reciprocal trade agreements program. We

view with concern any disposition on the part of Congress to return to an outmoded concept of "tariffs for protection" which would in fact shortsightedly sabotage our foreign policy, and out of economic insufficiency and distress abroad fashion the threat of war. The reconstruction of the world requires that we work together for security and mutual advantage and not struggle with each other for wealth and power.

Policy of the A. A. U. N.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS who are acquainted with the American Association for the United Nations, a voluntary organization, will find the following Association Policy not only of interest but of concern that its provisions be adopted by the United Nations.

The Association has continued to urge that the proposals of Secretary of State Marshall for a unified approach to the European economic problem be co-ordinated with the activities of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe which is of American inspiration. The utilization of the economic machinery of the United Nations does not permit use of the veto by a member nation since decisions on economic and social matters are taken by a majority vote. European recovery cannot be achieved by emergency measures to shore up the economy of one country after another without any relationship to the economy of Europe as a whole. Use of United Nations machinery would mean a co-operative effort on the part of many nations through the instrument which they themselves have created.

Report on Security and Disarmament Under the United Nations, issued by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, research affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations:

Security and disarmament are attainable within present machinery of the United

Nations. "The outstanding need of the moment is an over-all understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States." United Nations furnishes the framework within which these two great powers may move to understanding. "Indeed had it not been for the United Nations the relations between the great powers might well have deteriorated beyond repair."

Recommendations of the report:

1. The United Nations should have certain police forces of its own.
2. The United Nations should call for a study of naval and air bases, and strategic and narrow waterways, and Arctic and Antarctic regions.
3. Creation of an international regime for Antarctic Continent to be administered by the United Nations.
4. A new international convention to guarantee freedom of Turkish straits.
5. Greater flexibility and open-mindedness between the United States and U. S. S. R. on control of atomic energy.
6. International control and punishment of violators of atomic energy as called for in Baruch plan.
7. Codification of international law accepting the Nuremberg principle that official position in a government is not a defense against violation of international law.
8. Creation by the United Nations of an international criminal tribunal.
9. While not recommending amendment to the Charter to eliminate the veto, the report suggests various methods by which reaching decisions might be facilitated in the Security Council (special agreements such as dealing with atomic energy should operate without veto).
10. General Assembly to set up a committee on security and disarmament in addition to its present six committees.
11. "A more constructive approach to the problems of world economic reconstruction should be made through the United Nations."

Voluntary Total Abstinence Through Education

(Continued from page 16)

total abstinence. A vigorous crusade is now under way in that denomination, which plans to utilize the first Sunday in Lent, 1948, to be designated as Commitment Day, on which the people called Methodists shall be called upon to sign commitments to total abstinence.

Some denominations make total abstinence a requirement of membership.

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., in 1946, adopted this statement as its working principle for educating in voluntary total abstinence:

"We have affirmed our belief in a vigorous program of continuing education, based on science, illuminated and motivated by Christian ethics leading toward voluntary abstinence and social concern. We affirm our belief in a program leading toward eventual elimination of the production and use of alcoholic beverages through public action in community, state, and nation. We believe that education and public action go hand in hand; that the second will work finally only as it is based on the first, and that attention must be given to the second if there is to be any chance of achieving the first.

"It seems apparent that any program attempting to eliminate the production and use of alcoholic beverages by legislation on a national scale would be unsuccessful unless supported by an overwhelming majority of the people. The advocacy of immediate national prohibition would seem at this time an unwise strategy in moving toward the social control of alcoholic beverages. Preoccupation with national prohibition as an immediate objective may run the grave danger of aiding liquor to become even more deeply entrenched in American life." (Pp. 15, 16, *Let's Face the Issue.*)

The General Assembly action also contains certain principles to help to achieve

the goal of voluntary total abstinence.

"Alcohol education in the Church must be persistent and many-sided, reaching adults no less than children and youth, accurate in its facts, uncompromising in its claims, intelligently graded and imaginatively presented. It should proceed despite those who deny there is an alcohol problem or those who believe the problem can be solved by a single act of legislation.

"The aim of alcohol education is conviction and decision based on accurate knowledge. Dissemination of facts is not enough, but the facts presented must be both accurate and relevant. The following are our guiding principles of action:

"1. The program shall be conceived in long-range terms, not merely as a special promotion for a limited period. . . .

"2. The program will look to the results of scientific study for accurate knowledge of facts. . . .

"3. While the program will lead toward commitment and conviction from the point of view of Christian standards, it shall clarify and explain the nature and strength of the social pressures toward drinking as well as help to create affirmative ways of conduct before which the pressure shall be powerless. . . .

"4. While alcohol education shall be related to many activities within the church, it must also be an object of special concern and program." (*Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.)

Many who are "listening in" will fear that the method of voluntary total abstinence through education is putting too many eggs in one basket; that the eggs will never hatch. They will hope that some "miracle" of legislation will solve the alcohol problem.

To these we respond, Education is a democratic process; it enlists the person to be reached; and when a man or a woman decides voluntarily to be a total abstainer, that decision is likely to be lasting. Furthermore, the decision makes a new advocate of total abstinence.

Unsolved Japanese-American Problems

(Continued from page 23)

such legislation as will free alien residents of all nations from the "ineligibility" classification; and has further urged that deportation of former Japanese treaty merchants, who are married to American citizens, be stayed until Congress can amend the Deportation Code to permit clemency in meritorious family hardship cases.

The "ineligibility to citizenship" principle has not only been the basis for exclusion from various civil rights, but, specifically, it led to the enactment of alien land laws in a number of states. Prior to the war, however, such legislation had pretty much become "dead letter law," and attempts to enact new laws or validate the old ones were defeated, even in California, where citizens revealed their opposition by defeating a measure to validate legislative amendments to the Alien Land Law by a plurality of a third of a million votes.

Unfortunately, the anti-Japanese forces of California have a controlling voice in the state legislature, and, having been defeated in their attempt to prevent the return of the evacuees, they have now seized upon the Alien Land Law as an effective weapon to "force another evacuation of Japanese from California, this time by refusing to permit them to earn a living." \$265,000 was appropriated by the legislature for enforcing certain provisions of the law which make it a crime for a Japanese to possess, enjoy, use, cultivate, transmit, occupy or remain on land, or have a beneficial interest in the land, its crops, or proceeds. During the twenty-five years or more that the law was not enforced, property values have been greatly enhanced, and thus there was a real appeal to the cupidity of all persons who have no qualms of conscience when it comes to stealing land owned by Japanese-

Americans. The hearts of local politicians were set at rest when the state agreed to share fifty-fifty the proceeds of escheat sales with the counties. Convictions were simplified by waiving all statute of limitations.

The effect of the campaign to escheat the property of persons of Japanese ancestry has been to place a cloud on the title of all insurance companies that refuse to insure such property and thus the disposal thereof has become very complicated. Japanese-American veterans have returned from service overseas to find that their land has been confiscated and that it is necessary to buy it back from the state at inflated prices. The state has filed an escheat to confiscate the land of an American citizen mother of three children because her alien husband lived with her, helped her to cultivate her land and rear her children. Many Nisei veterans cannot secure the usual crop and seed loans because their land titles are in jeopardy. The father of an only son, killed in action, cannot receive his son's land, given to him in a battlefield will. California now charges, after several decades of silence, that lands owned and operated by Japanese-Americans were acquired through fraud. There is also grave doubt as to whether a Japanese can even lease commercial or business property, or a home.

Because the U. S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear arguments on the constitutionality of the Alien Land Law in October, the Synod of California has communicated with the Governor and the Attorney General, and asked its members to urge their assemblymen and Senators to halt the prosecution of escheat cases, and further suggested that steps be taken to abrogate this unjust law as soon as possible. As the Christian Church in America demonstrates its interest in securing justice for the members of the Japanese minority group the cause of the Gospel will be furthered in Japan and true democracy commended to its people.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

In order to understand fully the position of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., order a copy of the Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action, 1947, *Signposts for Christians*, from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Here is a list of bills in Congress in which the Church has a special interest and where they now stand. It is from points indicated in the list below that these bills will move either at a special session of Congress this fall or at the next regular session, January 2, 1948.

Housing. S. 866, Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill. On Senate calendar. H. R. 2523, companion bill in the house. (In favor.) In House Banking and Currency Committee. H. Con. Res. 104 was passed to establish joint committee to investigate housing.

Universal Military Training. H. R. 4278, National Security Act of 1947. Set up Selective Service whereby all youths 18 years and over are required by law to take one year of training. (Opposed.) On House calendar. Ask your Congressman for Report 186 of subcommittee hearings on universal military training and for Report 1073, "Investigation of Participation of Federal Officials of the War Department in Publicity and Propaganda, as It Relates to Universal Military Training."

Displaced Persons. H. R. 2910. To admit 100,000 displaced persons each year for four years subject to rules of immigration, but not quotas. (In favor.) S. Res. 137. To make an investigation costing \$50,000 of immigration that would delay for 7 months the passage of H. R. 2910. (Opposed—contrary to stand on displaced persons.) In House Judiciary Committee. S. Res. 137 was passed to authorize an immigration investigation by Judiciary Committee.

Disarmament. H. Res. 73. Landis, international abolition of compulsory military service. (In favor.) In House Foreign Affairs Committee. Resolution for Universal Disarmament was introduced by Sabath. H. J. Res. 254 referred to House Foreign Affairs Committee. S. Con. Res. 32 also introduced same subject. In Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Alcohol. S. 265, Capper Alcohol Advertising Interstate. (In favor.) In Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Farm. S. 66, H. R. 655, and H. R. 656, removal of 160-acre limitation on farms in Government irrigated land. (Opposed.) S. 66, in Senate Public Lands Committee. H. R. 656 and H. R. 655 in House Public Lands Committee.

Industrial Relations. Numerous bills have been entered in the House and Senate to change the Labor-Management Relation Act of 1947. H. R. 4193, guaranteeing civil liberties. H. R. 4194, equalize responsibility of the labor unions and employers. S. 1628, repeal 1947 act. H. R. 4193 and H. R. 4194, in House Education and Labor Committee. S. 1628 in Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

F.E.P.C. S. 984, national committee to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry. (In favor.) In Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Antilynching. H. R. 3488, makes lynching a Federal crime. (In favor.) In House Judiciary Committee.

Anti-Poll Tax. H. R. 29, bans poll tax. (In favor.) Passed House July 21. Now in Senate Rules and Administration Committee.

Claims for Japanese Evacuees. H. R. 2768, provides for repayment to evacuees from West Coast for loss. (General Assembly, 1942.) In House Judiciary Committee.

Foreign Relief. H. R. 1938, transfer to International Children's Emergency Fund the equivalent of the money covered by C.P.S. men. Passed House July 7. Now in Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Arming the Americas. H. R. 3836, provides for agreements with other American states for instruction, training, repair, rehabilitation, and transfer of military equipment. (See General Assembly position on disarmament.) On House calendar.

Public Welfare. H. R. 3636, comprehensive welfare program through assistance by insurance, full employment, expansion of medical care, mental hygiene. S. 1355. In House Ways and Means Committee.

Continue Reciprocal Trade Program. H. R. 4421, by Wilbur D. Mills, of Arkansas, introduced July 26, would provide a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement program which expires June 12, 1948. The House Ways and Means Committee conducted lengthy hearings this spring, featuring opposition testimony to the authority of the State Department to negotiate trade agreements singly or with several countries at the same time. Trade agreements with 29 countries are now in force.

Join the World Health Organization. H. J. Res. 161, by Walter Judd, of Minnesota, provides membership in and appropriations for the World Health Organization. Vote by the House is only remaining action to be taken, since this bill was reported out of the House Foreign Affairs Committee July 17, 1947. A companion bill, Senate Joint Resolution 98, passed the Senate July 7, 1947.

Strengthening the United Nations. On July 9, 1947, the following resolutions were introduced in Congress: S. Con. Res. 23, by Senators Ferguson, Baldwin, Byrd, Cain, Flanders, McMahon, Tobey, O'Mahoney, Sparkman, and Taylor: "It is the sense of the Congress of the United States that permanent world peace can and will be achieved through the United Nations, and to that purpose we believe that action should be taken under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations to propose and adopt amendments and revisions that will strengthen the United Nations as an instrument to prevent war and maintain world peace."

S. Con. Res. 24, a stronger and more pointed resolution, by Senators Taylor, Chavez, Johnston of South Carolina, Murray, Pepper, and Tobey: "That the President of the United States should immediately take the initiative under Article 109 of the Charter of the United Nations in calling a General Conference of the United Nations for the purpose of making the United Nations capable of enacting, interpreting, and enforcing world law to prevent war." These two resolutions were referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

Extend Coverage and Benefits of Old-Age Insurance. S. 1679, by Senators Murray, Wagner, and McGrath provides for a national program of retirement, survivors, and extend disability insurance. This would cover some 15,000,000 persons in addition to the industrial and commercial wage earners now covered by the social security insurance program. No action taken in Senate Finance Committee. John D. Dingell introduced H. R. 4303, similar to S. 1679, which was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, but no action was taken.

Anti-Jim-Crow Travel Bill. H. R. 280 was introduced by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., which would amend the Interstate Commerce Act to make illegal for rail or bus travel or terminals any discrimination on account of race. This has been referred to a subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee including Marion T. Bennett, Robert Crosser, John W. Heselton, Edward J. Elsaesser, and Dwight L. Rogers.

The Workshop

Alcohol Program for Youth. Last fall as our committee on Social Education and Action met we were very much disturbed by the seeming attitude in the Church that nothing could be done concerning the alcohol problem. The thing that particularly brought it to our attention, I believe, was the very fine report by the Social Education and Action Committee to the General Assembly and the emphasis on the need for alcohol education.

We called a joint meeting of the synodical and the synod committees and discussed there what we might do in a constructive way along this line. We invited W. Roy Breg, Executive Secretary of Allied Youth, Inc., to make a tour through our state. The purpose of such a project would be for him to speak in the various high schools and organize the Allied Youth posts where possible.

The plan of Allied Youth is this: The purpose of the speaker to organize young people in high schools for a social and recreational program which is alcohol-free and emphasizes that it may not be so smart to drink as some people think it is. In fact, they decide that it is probably a good deal smarter to leave it alone. Alcoholics Anonymous has found a way to help the alcoholic, and at Yale they have found ways and means of rendering assistance to him, but Allied Youth feels that it is up to the educators and the leaders to find a way to keep young people from becoming alcoholics. In the little more than two weeks that Mr. Breg was in the state, he visited 28 high schools and the Teacher's College at Wayne. In conferences that followed in the assemblies of 23 of the high schools, 1,877 students met with him. Out of these students were selected committees usually made up of athletes and leading girl students in the schools who were ready to recognize that the problem is in their

school and were willing to do something about it in a constructive way in their own group.

It was very interesting to note that some of the schools that we approached before Mr. Breg came implied that they had no interest in the organization of a post, but that they were willing to hear Mr. Breg in their assemblies as part of their year's work. Yet, nearly every one of the schools that had denied Mr. Breg the right to call a conference called these conferences on their own at the time and asked for an organization of this kind.

You might be interested in some specific cases. For instance, at North Platte, Mr. Oakes, the principal, gave time right at noon and said that the young people probably would not want to stay because it was their noon hour. Mr. Breg speeded up his time, closing five minutes early, and Mr. Oakes said, "Let's try to have a conference." One hundred and fifty of the students remained at the conference and organized their committee to go ahead. At Scottsbluff, Mr. Davis, the principal, said that there would be very small response on the part of the students, yet out of 1,000 young people who were there, 300 stayed —also in their lunch period—to organize the post. At Bridgeport, the superintendent said, "Nothing doing in a new school organization," but he added that if the community wanted to take it up as a project, he would co-operate. After Mr. Breg had finished speaking, several asked if they could meet with him after school. Eighteen young people came to that conference at his hotel, and selected a committee to go ahead with the work. At Dalton, another small school, Mr. Lamb, the superintendent, and Mr. Duly, the Presbyterian pastor, doubted whether there would be much response. After Mr. Breg had finished speaking, every student filed out and the superintendent and the

pastor looked at each other and said, "Well, that's what we expected." They went to the office, and as Mr. Breg was to leave for Sidney, five boys came to the door, followed by five girls, and later were joined by some of the other students, all of whom wanted to go ahead. The superintendent and the pastor looked at each other and said, "It doesn't pay to jump to conclusions."

The thing that has thrilled us in the synod committee is Mr. Breg's statement that this is the first time this has ever been done by a committee on Social Education and Action. We feel that it has been a complete success, because of the students reached and the work which has been done with them. All of us feel that we would like to do something practical in helping to meet the problem created by increased drinking in the United States, and this seems to be the most practical way to win youth's response to meeting this problem, by helping them to say, "We will not drink." This must be a voluntary pledge of total abstinence. It is a fine training in self-restraint and self-discipline and in exercising the controls that come from within rather than from without.

It was also very gratifying to us who feel that young people are interested in serious things to find that it was they who went ahead with this program all through the state, when their elders said they weren't interested.

We, in synod and synodical committees, working together in this project, feel that it was time very well spent and we have perhaps accomplished a little toward meeting the problem of drinking in the schools. We feel, too, that the project will have some permanent benefits because the Allied Youth posts formed in the various communities will be a continuing educational process in the minds and lives of these young people and those coming on after them, teaching them that it is not smart to drink, but that it may be smarter to leave it alone.

I am sending this report to you because I thought perhaps you might be interested in what we have been doing here in the Nebraska Synod with the co-operation of the synodical and because we felt that it might be useful to other S.E.A. committees.

—Reported by Ralph A. Strong,
Chairman, Nebraska Synod Committee on S.E.A.

Projects of Portland Presbyterial.

Interracial

Attended a racial study group.

Helped with survey for Interracial Clinic.

Attended Interracial Clinic.

Helped sponsor Walter White meeting.

Gathered 12 bed sheets for the Japanese-American hostel.

Assisted in wide survey of consumer attitudes to different racial groups as sales people and clerks.

Actively supported a civil liberties case (the Ervin Jones case).

One group aided Japanese women to learn to read English.

Relief

34 Christmas boxes sent to Church Committee for Overseas Relief.

\$163.20 reported sent to Europe for food.

Several collections of clothing and bedding bundles.

9 children adopted for the year (under Save the Children).

Money for seeds sent to China.

Community Aid

Sewing for Red Cross—also Russian Relief.

\$10.00 to the Children's Farm Home.

Special Assignments

Special Training School Committee under Council of Social Agencies.

Milk Price Study Commission.

Race Relations Commission of the Portland Council of Churches.

—Reported by Mrs. W. H. Genne,
Secretary, Portland Presbyterial's
Committee on S.E.A.

A Local S.E.A. Committee Studies Housing and Household Service. Group VI of the Women's Association of the Second Presbyterian Church, of Baltimore, Maryland, had a most interesting Social Education and Action study from January through May on the "Housing Conditions in the Slum Area in Baltimore" and *Martha in the Modern Age*.¹

We had the theoretical study of the "Slum Area" first and then made a tour of this area conducted by a member of the Baltimore Health Department. He never let us forget for one moment that this was the section where most of our "household employees" lived. It was a trip we shall never forget and we were ready for action. We tried to bring pressure to bear on certain candidates who were running for the City Council and urged our friends to vote for the appropriation of funds for slum clearance.

The study of *Martha in the Modern Age* brought forth excellent discussion, never letting us forget the housing conditions of the household employee. They need a living wage in order to maintain better living conditions. We feel the time has come when household employees are due as much consideration as to hours and wages as any other employees. However, we feel that the pendulum is swinging too far and there should be some discrimination in this field. The experienced and the inexperienced day-workers should not receive the same wages. As 90 per cent of the households obtain their employees through an employment agency we contacted the agencies to see what could be done. The employment agencies meet as a group once a month and we have been granted the privilege of meeting with them in September to present what we feel to be the Christian approach to the household employee problem now that we have

¹ *Martha in the Modern Age* was prepared by the Division of Social Education and Action and may be secured at any Westminster Book Store. 10 cents each.

studied *Martha in the Modern Age*. —Reported by Mrs. Ward L. Bennett, Secretary for S.E.A., Second Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Md., per Mrs. Mary S. Gwathmey.

Christian Social Action Conference. At our first meeting of the Second Annual Christian Social Action Conference held at Kalamazoo College in June,

Members of different denominations, classes, nationalities, and colors assembled to study and discuss the question of the duties of the Church to its own community and to the world at large.

The separate groups discussed Church and social welfare, race, industrial and international relations.

It was agreed that the Church and community should work together, each knowing what the other is doing. They should be alert to discover the needs and as far as possible supply them. The Church through its individual members and through their collective action is responsible with the community for social conditions.

With much sympathy the interracial group discussed Jews, Negroes, Indians, Mexicans and migrants, their rights and their grievances. Adult education groups could be interracial and work for some project of mutual need. In one town such a group worked for necessary flood control.

The labor relations group in its discussion followed the "basic assumptions" of the Pittsburgh Conference, and agreed that the goal in labor and management relations must be collective cooperation.

The study in connection with international relations was all-inclusive. Anything that affects the living conditions of mankind becomes an international problem.

At a plenary meeting we heard the decisions of all groups. Now the task remains to get the pronouncements of this group into common use in the world, that law and order may reign.

—Reported by Mrs. George E. Little, S.E.A., Michigan Synodical.

About Books

Human Destiny, by Pierre Lecomte du Nouy. Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. \$3.50.

There are two reasons why I hesitate to recommend this book. One is the price, which is \$3.50. The other is that it is stiff reading. It is not the type of volume that can be understood with the reader in an easy chair, clad in comfortable slippers, with the radio playing a symphony. It must be digested with both feet on the floor, a dictionary near by, and a pencil sharpened and ready for use.

Despite these difficulties, it is a book that every Christian should read. The author is a distinguished French biologist who now makes his home in this country. Basically, his theme is the evolution of life on this planet, particularly the evolution of man. His thesis is that the actual process of evolution requires a directive will or purpose if it is to be understood at all. The book thus becomes a devastating attack on materialistic mechanism and determinism. Its essential message is definitely theistic, and positively Christian.

Human Destiny throws fresh light on the relation of Christianity to social problems by demonstrating that it is only by the acceptance of the basic teachings of Jesus that the universe can be saved from nihilism. Dr. du Nouy finds the goal of evolution in the realm of human freedom. Only as man co-operates with God will he attain the fulfillment of human destiny.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

The Soul of Frederick W. Robertson, by James R. Blackwood. Harper & Brothers. \$2.00.

This is a stirring biography of one of the greatest preachers of all generations. It is most timely that this story came into print exactly on the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of Robertson's

phenomenal ministry at Brighton, England.

Preachers will find here a genuine "refresher" course, as the convictions, practices, sermonic methods and pastoral work, as well as community activities of Robertson, are described. Mr. Blackwood, son of Professor Andrew W. Blackwood, of Princeton, has rendered a very valuable service to the ministry. The book was written primarily as a master's thesis, but the author has recast it in popular form. The results of painstaking research are presented in a most readable manner. Laymen, as well as ministers, will enjoy this book. Ministerial students and ministers will find this a most stimulating and informing treatment.

Frederick W. Robertson was a warrior for Christ. He struggled against entering the ministry, as his mind was set upon a military career. How he made the decision is a delightful story—a barking dog had much to do with it! In the ministry he found a place of conflict, and weapons other than firearms had to be used. He fought for the right as a valiant warrior. He was described as being "quite soldier-looking."

He was concerned with the spiritual growth of the young and gave much of his time and attention to them. Teaching the Bible was the core of Robertson's entire ministry. Community problems, such as poverty, slums, and conditions among the working classes, occupied his attention and action. His theology was practical and he brought it to earth and applied it to everyday living. He could never tolerate "those who . . . go on feasting and dressing and amusing themselves, and doling out the driblets of their income with a grudge in the sacred cause of benevolence."

Every minister ought to read this book.
GORDON W. MATTICE

Problems in Religion and Life, by Anton T. Boisen. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$1.50.

The heart of this book is to be found in the questions and outlines for study. The author's own convictions are expressed in "propositions for consideration," which are brief and provocative. Each chapter but one concludes with a brief list of books for further study. The last chapter, which deals with the minister's library, concludes with a list of books of primary and lasting value in the fields of logic, psychology, sociology, social psychology and personality study, social philosophy, psychology and sociology of religion, religious education, psychopathology, delinquency and child guidance, psychotherapy and counseling, and social work. A sentence or two summarizes or gives the reason for including each book in the list. For the serious student this list of books may easily be the best thing about this manual.

The book is divided into three sections. The first three chapters are designed to help the pastor to see and understand his community, the families of his parish, and certain individuals who especially need his help.

The second part deals with types of maladjustment, a chapter being devoted to each of the following: the mentally ill, the delinquent, the sexually maladjusted, the alcoholic, and the physically ill. The chapter on the mentally ill is especially good, describing very briefly but clearly the four types of mental illnesses and suggesting the sort of cases in which the minister may most fruitfully spend his time and energy. The place of the minister and religion is well defined in the chapter dealing with the sexually maladjusted. The chapter on the alcoholic is excellent in its brief description of the types and treatment.

The third part deals with "general problems," including personal counseling, religious education, religious conversion to-

day, the religion of the underprivileged, moral reconversion (emphasis on the returned serviceman), religion and social action, and the distinctive task of the minister. The chapters on personal counseling, religious conversion today, and religion and social action seem the strongest.

There is no doubt that if used as the author intends this manual will prove a stimulating and effective guide for group study and discussion. There is no reason why it should not be just as stimulating to the individual pastor. Reading through it has caused this pastor to review his preaching during the past year to see if he has been meeting the problems of his people in the pulpit as well as in the hand-to-hand encounter of personal counseling.

GEORGE W. KIEHL

America's Needs and Resources, by J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates. The Twentieth Century Fund. \$5.00.

This is the most comprehensive survey ever undertaken by The Twentieth Century Fund—and probably by any other research group on this subject. It presents a thoroughly documented study of America's human and industrial capacity and resources balanced against the probable needs and demands of 1950 and 1960. It is a fact book of our entire economic system, including population, national income, employment trends, working hours, crop per acre, and expenditures for practically every item used by man. It even tells how much is spent for shoelaces and what the probable demand for them will be in 1960!

Here are a few samples of the type of information to be found in this survey:

1. The average income of the American people in 1944 was \$1,170.
2. Gross national product, or the total of all goods and services produced in this country, can well reach \$177 billion in 1950.

3. Far from being "mature" or "dead," the American economic system is a dynamic, growing thing. It holds possibilities

even beyond our capacity. "Our inventive genius, our organizing ability and our skills have given us in the United States the greatest productivity and the highest standard of living in the world, enjoyed by the largest proportion of population."

4. We have more than enough total resources in America to meet our needs. In the future our problems will be those of "surplus production rather than inadequate capacity."

5. Our population in 1950 will probably be 144.7 million. In 1940 it was 132.5 million.

6. "The declining share of expenditures for religion and social welfare reflects in large part a diminishing willingness to support religious activities as generously as in the past and a growing acceptance of government responsibility for social welfare" (page 82). "In 1940 the \$1.1 billion expenditures for these purposes amounted to only 1.6 per cent of the total. With an estimated decline to 1.4 per cent in 1950, they will amount to \$1.2 billion of the larger total of consumption expenditures, and in 1960 estimated expenditures of \$1.3 billion would mean a further decline to 1.3 per cent of the total" (page 87). "*The combined annual expenditures of the nation's Churches in the form of current outlays and depreciation have never reached a billion dollars. . . . Consumers have devoted to the support of Churches and welfare institutions little more than \$1.50 out of every \$100 of their expenditures, . . . considerably less than we spend for either tobacco or alcoholic beverages.*"

7. There are 250,000 Churches in the country, affiliated with over 250 denominations, and they claim close to half of the population as members. There are about 137,000 clergymen, or about 104 for every 100,000 of the population. There were 137 clergymen for 100,000 in 1900. Church buildings are valued at around \$3.5 billion. Three fourths of the Churches, and almost 90 per cent of Church members, are attached to the nineteen largest denomina-

tions. Over 85 per cent of all Churches have Sunday Schools, with an enrollment of 23 millions. *The average Church member contributes little more than 20 cents a week.* Families at the lowest income levels contributed more generously than those at the highest.

8. In 1940 there were 140,755 active physicians—one to every 935 persons. On an average day there are 7 million permanently or temporarily disabled persons in the United States—about fifty-five out of each 1,000 persons.

9. In 1940 the American people spent \$3.9 billion for education, including libraries, museums, books, and periodicals. Schools and colleges spent \$33 billion; consumers spent \$467 million for educational reading matter. There were almost 250,000 schools, with 1.1 million teachers. Enrollments in full-time day schools amounted to nearly 30 million, which is equivalent to almost three quarters of the population between the ages of five and twenty-two. Part-time and adult formal education reached at least 3.6 million people. The Government now pays more than 90 per cent of the costs of elementary and secondary schools and more than two thirds of higher education costs.

These samples of the facts and figures give a general idea of the scope of the survey. Dr. J. Frederic Dewhurst, economist of The Twentieth Century Fund, and his staff of twenty experts have produced a monumental survey.

GORDON W. MATTICE



Study and Action

New S.E.A. Materials

Signposts for Christians. Report of the Standing Committee on Social Education and Action. *Free.*

Manual for Social Education and Action Leaders. Contains helpful suggestions for arranging Social Education and Action programs in synod, presbytery, local Church. *Free.*

Check List of Tools for Social Education and Action, 1947-1948. Lists all materials prepared by the Division of Social Education and Action. *Free.*

Alcohol

Let's Face the Issue. Study guide of the Church and alcoholic beverages. *10 cents.*

Liquor—Good or Bad? "Today and Tomorrow" series. *Free* in limited quantities.

***It's Up to You,** by Seward Hiltner. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York. *10 cents.*

***Alcoholism Is a Sickness,** by Herbert Yahraes. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York. *10 cents.*

Industrial Relations

The Church and Industrial Relations. Report and outline for discussion. *10 cents.*

Conversations About Industrial Relations. For use with the above report.

Report of Pittsburgh National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life. *10 cents.*

The Truth About Unions, by Leo Huberman. A book of information on unionism. *\$1.00.*

Conscription

***A Program for National Security.** Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. *75 cents.*

An Analysis of the Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Training. Discussion of the report of President's commission by a committee of eminent citizens. The National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. *10 cents.*

***America Questions Peacetime Conscription.** American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa. *15 cents.*

***Conscription After the War?** by Harrop A. and Ruth S. Freeman. A Forerunners Studybook. Fellowship Publications, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y. *25 cents.*

Write directly to the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa., for small quantities of *When America "Disarmed," The Army Says —, Don't Buy a Pig in a Poke, and Ask the Man Who Owned One!* *Free.*

* Order starred items directly from source indicated. All other material from your nearest Westminister Book Store.

What Price Preparedness?

*By Cord Meyer, Jr.**

PEACE through preparedness for war is the promise that is now being held out to the American people by our elected officials and military leaders. We are continually exhorted to remember that aggression is still a possibility and that our only guarantee of safety lies in armed strength. In this second year of "peace," President Truman has called for a military appropriation of more than eleven billion dollars. After grave warnings from the Secretaries of the War, Navy, and State departments, this appears to be one item in the President's budget that the Republicans will not attempt to cut, although it is almost one third of the total.

Similarly, Marshal Stalin has warned the Russian people that "it is necessary to be constantly vigilant, to protect as the apple of one's eye the armed force and defensive power of our country." In the Soviet Union, the expected reconversion to the production of consumer goods has been delayed in favor of further expansion of the heavy industries which provide the sinews of war, with particular emphasis on the development of atomic energy. The

American and Russian Governments are locked in competition for the arms, allies, and strategic bases that each insists are essential to national security.

How are these claims that peace and safety can be assured through competitive arming to be reconciled with the known facts concerning the new weapons? The scientists have been attempting to reach an apathetic public with the knowledge that there is no effective defense against atomic bombs. Two or three bombs are sufficient to destroy even the largest city, crippling or killing most of its inhabitants. They can be delivered by long-range bombers, so mere distance is not the protection that it was.

There is no safety in the fact that we enjoy a temporary monopoly on atomic weapons. Many of the most able scientists insist that within two or three years Russia and a number of other nations may be manufacturing atomic explosives, whether or not we divulge our technical secrets. In the immediate future, Americans will live in justifiable terror of an atomic attack that can devastate our cities and industries at a single blow, just as the people of some other nations already fear such an assault by the United States.

* Marine veteran, and Aide to Commander Harold Stassen at the San Francisco Conference. Reprinted with permission from *The Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1947.

The spectacular quality of the atomic bomb explosion has obscured the equally significant information that there are other new and inhumanly destructive means of warfare available today. Their existence is worth mentioning, not because atomic bombs are not sufficient in themselves to devastate a country, but because the international control of atomic energy alone has been allowed to become synonymous with the establishment of peace and security. In pleading the need for funds to be used in scientific research, a member of Congress proved his case last year by stating: "They have developed a weapon that can wipe out all forms of life in a large city. It is a germ proposition and is sprayed from airplanes that can fly high enough, while doing it, to be reasonably safe from ground fire. It is quick and certain death. One operation would be sufficient, for the effects would spread rapidly." The official Merck Report on biological warfare concludes with the warning: "The development of agents for biological warfare is possible in many countries, large and small, without vast expenditures of money or the construction of huge production facilities."

From these facts it is evident that once a modern attack is launched no amount of money, men, and armament can save our country or any other nation from colossal devastation and the ravages of incurable

pestilences. How, then, can vast armament expenditures and military preparations be justified?

If our future security is to depend on national armaments, the purpose of the military must not be to win wars but to prevent them from ever occurring, by the obvious size and efficiency of our preparations for a counteroffensive. Not only must this retaliatory force be capable of immediately destroying the cities of all possible opponents, but it must be able to deliver its blows after our own cities and factories have been leveled by the enemy's initial assault. Preparedness to defend the nation must be supplanted by preparedness to endure the loss of our urban industry and population and to preserve from the wreckage the ability to strike back in equal force.

Before we and the other peoples of the world are finally and irrevocably committed to such a program of mutual intimidation, we had better ask ourselves and our leaders what the consequences will be.

2

The first requirement is a stockpile of modern weapons second to none. In the past, the vast peaceful factories which could be converted to the manufacture of weapons were reliable guarantees of strength. No such pause for the realization of potential strength will exist in future conflicts. It will be difficult to preserve beyond the first day even those

factories devoted to the most essential war production. Only those weapons immediately available can be relied upon in launching the instantaneous retaliation that will be necessary. The United States, if it intends to intimidate others, has no alternative but to attempt to maintain the world's largest arsenal of atomic bombs, radioactive poisons, disease-producing germs, and long-range rockets and bombers.

There is another necessity of preparedness which has been completely ignored by those who claim that the United States can remain secure merely by preserving its lead in the arms production race. They forget that the capacity to continue a future war will depend not only on the quantity and potency of the weapons available, but on the relative ability of the warning powers to preserve unharmed vital sections of the national industry and population.

Since there is no sure means of preventing the bombs from landing, the only way to reduce their effect is to disperse the possible targets. Just as Bikini demonstrated the suicidal stupidity of assembling large numbers of ships in a single harbor, so Hiroshima and Nagasaki illustrated the danger of tolerating the continued existence of large concentrations of men and machines on land. Unfortunately, cities are not so easily dispersed as ships.

A tremendous program of enforced decentralization of its indus-

trial centers is a necessity for any nation preparing for future war. Such decentralization has two objectives. The first, which must have the highest priority, is the protection of striking power. The second objective is to provide some security for the city dwellers.

The protection of retaliatory capacity involves the dispersal and sheltering of military personnel, of stockpiles of weapons, of the industries and workers that produce the most vital weapons, and of Government executives. In the case of soldiers and their weapons, it is obvious that their concentration in a few large camps invites destruction. They must be distributed throughout the country in secret and self-sufficient centers of resistance, with bombs, bacteria, planes, and rockets in a continuous state of readiness.

The factories, workers, and raw materials essential to arms production must also be dispersed among self-sufficient production centers. Moreover, the Capitol, the White House, and the Pentagon Building are as great temptations to a possible aggressor as Oak Ridge or Detroit. The consequence of a bombardment of Washington today would be the liquidation of the entire directing personnel of the Government, resulting in confusion of authority and in political as well as material chaos. There is need for the creation of separate command centers, each one

(Continued on page 17)

The Role of the United States in World Trade

*By Morris S. Rosenthal **

ALL peoples of the world are alike in wanting peace, liberty, and economic plenty. They have these desires regardless of the political or economic system under which they live or the ideologies of their countries, although they may differ as to how they can be attained.

Some practical questions which the people of the United States must consider, if they wish to attempt the fulfillment of these desires, as must the people of all other countries, are: "Can we go it alone? Can we develop our own democracy? Can we live in peace, liberty, and plenty if we do not accept responsibility for living with other peoples of the world and sharing responsibilities with them?"

A Lesson from World War I

After the First World War, although we traded with other countries, we refused to enter into an international organization. We refused to co-operate with others in an attempt to find a solution to our common economic and political problems. It is my hope that from the last war we have at least learned this lesson: We cannot maintain an Ameri-

can standard of living of which we boast, and we cannot live in peace, without the need of a gigantic Army and Navy, if there is hunger and starvation, disease and unrest in other parts of the world.

It is not a question of whether or not we have more education than other people; it is not a question alone of the vastness of our natural resources and industrial potential. It is the very practical problem that starving people, envious of their neighbors, tolerate the rise of dictators. They take from others because they are hungry and lack even a minimum subsistence level. Although we are a sentimental nation, always ready to help everyone in need, it is not paternalistic help or charity that we should give to others but help that will enable them to become self-supporting and to advance their own standards of living. Then they and we can live at peace with each other. Only in this way can we avert the danger of new dictatorships and war.

Unfortunately the basic economic issues are at times clouded by differences in ideologies, but I think that on the economic basis of plenty for all, we and other nations can readily agree. Our concept of liberty is not the same as the concept of liberty in the Soviet Union and in some other

* Executive vice-president and director of Stein, Hall and Company, and director of other corporations. From 1941 to 1943, assistant director, Board of Economic Warfare in charge of the Office of Imports. Author of *Technical Procedure in Importing and Exporting*. Reprinted with permission from *The Annals*, July, 1947.

countries, but simply because concepts and ideologies differ, our responsibilities do not lessen; nor does the necessity for co-operation with other countries lessen if we would get what we want for ourselves at home.

Toward World Leadership

The leadership among the peoples of the world varies today as it has always varied. There are leaders of some countries who think in terms of their own political power; there are those who are somewhat indifferent to the welfare of their people; and there are those who are truly enlightened, who understand that, as leaders, they are in a position of responsibility and trust for those whom they lead and whom they must serve. The enlightened leadership of the world has been responsible for the creation of the United Nations, and in that organization we have an attempt to secure peace and plenty for the peoples of the world.

The United Nations has had rough going in many ways. At times those who serve their countries in the different organizations of the United Nations undoubtedly feel discouraged. At times, we, the citizens, who watch their work and read their speeches, feel discouraged. It is important to bear in mind, however, that unless the United Nations succeeds as an organization, unless the representatives are able to work together, we may face another world

war far earlier than the most pessimistic might think. We must support the United Nations and trust that through such support something basically good will grow.

The United States has a particularly important role to play in the development of the United Nations and in the development of world trade. We in the United States have the same objectives that other peoples of the world have. We are sick and tired of war; we do not want to maintain gigantic armies and navies; we want to live at peace at home and with others. We have fought for liberty and for our concept of democracy on more than one occasion. We want to see that democracy at home and abroad.

Perhaps not all our citizens fully understand the deepest concepts of democracy, and I would not have you feel that we in the United States have achieved all that we can and should. Surely there are imperfections where people, for racial or other reasons, are denied the privileges and rights of democracy. But it is true that there is a deeply rooted concept of democracy in the people of the United States and an urge to do our work at home so that we can attain the ideals of which we boast.

Argument for Leadership

If we accept the premise that we must work with other peoples, we must equally accept the role of leadership. We do not want to be impe-

realistic and set ourselves up as the only leaders, but I do think we have a definite responsibility in giving leadership to others. In fact, frequently being in the economic vanguard, the role falls to us naturally; it is not entirely of our own making.

We have vast natural resources—only the Soviet Union compares with the United States in this respect—so that our resources, added to our tremendous productive capacity, mean that we cannot avoid the responsibility of economic leadership.

It is important next to consider what world trade can do in attaining these objectives. World trade alone is not the only means to these ends; it must be coupled with other methods.

Trade is the exchange of goods and services which people need, in the first instance, for basic sustenance and thereafter for the niceties of life. When we consider that the economic welfare of every human being depends upon the goods he has to consume, trade is of great importance. I would not have you think that economic welfare of the human being is his only welfare, but I do emphasize the fact that we cannot have contentment or democracy on empty bellies. Therefore we must consider minimizing their spiritual and intellectual needs in any degree.

Our intelligence and wisdom dictate that we profitably exchange goods and services with other nations but that we do it without im-

perialistic expansion and war. Our job is one of discarding the pressures of wars in economic expansion, while accepting our role in developing the exchange of goods so that the standards of living of all peoples can rise.

Advantages of World Trade

In looking at the role of the United States in world trade, it is important that we examine the advantages of international trade to our nation.

First, it is advantageous to us to expand our production in those industries where our skills of management and mass production enable us to produce goods in large volume at low cost. The important problem is to put goods into consumption, and the lower the cost of the goods, the greater the power of consumption in a world where money is the medium of exchange.

Secondly, if we in the United States follow the path of specialization in the industries in which we are skilled, and if we depend in larger measure on other peoples of the world to supply us with goods that they can produce more efficiently and at lower cost than we can, it will be of immeasurable benefit to the American consumer.

Thirdly, by supplying other peoples with machine tools and the capital goods that will enable them to manufacture goods for themselves, we will help them to raise their own

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Toward Better Race Relations

*By Armstrong Hunter **

IN AN attempt to improve race relations in local communities many Churches throughout the nation are making efforts to bring Negroes and whites together on a social level. These efforts are generally to the good. If handled properly, such contacts can help to overcome inter-racial misunderstanding. However, such attempts can sometimes be bungled and can produce results far different from those desired. Often whites react with dislike for Negroes whom they merely misunderstand. Not knowing much about the persons whom they are meeting, whites often feel that Negroes are "un-co-operative," "evasive," "mysterious," "dishonest," or at least "superficial." It is therefore important that whites be properly prepared for social contact with Negroes. And a proper preparation should include understanding of the following points:

1. Most Negroes are suspicious of whites, and may be overly cautious in interracial situations. A long history of oppression by white men has built within Negroes a justifiable resentment and suspicion which cannot be overcome easily. No matter how liberal the white person considers himself to be, there will be some Negroes who draw little dis-

tinction between him and the unfriendly white and therefore will remain distant. Whites must prove themselves in subtle ways; little things often confirm Negroes in their doubts about the sincerity of the white man or the genuineness of his liberalism. Whites are on trial in most interracial contacts. Most Negroes will not be entirely frank with the liberal white until his liberalism has been discovered to be abiding and deep.

Besides the historical reasons for this attitude of suspicion, there are current reasons as well. Whites are still the privileged members of our American society, whether or not they know it or like it. The Negroes know it, and few of them like it. They know that in all cities whites can go into any restaurant or hotel or rest room without being embarrassed there. They know that whites can take out forms of insurance denied to Negroes, that the white man's word is accepted against the colored man's in almost every court of law. They know, in a word, that whites are freer in our free society than they. And they know too that few whites realize this all-important fact. Therefore they view with suspicion any white who thinks that superficial interracial contact once in a while at a Church gathering solves any real

* Research Associate, Missions Council of the Congregational Christian Churches.

problems; they do not trust those who profess friendship and fail to comprehend their own privilege or cry out against it or reject it.

Whites must patiently go more than half way in interracial relationships. They must overcome deep distrust.

2. Most Negroes do not have too much in common with whites, even though they may live in the same city and walk the same streets. Negroes and whites live in different parts of the city, and in their different neighborhoods different patterns of culture prevail. These patterns reflect differences in economic opportunity, racial security, sectional background. Such differing patterns, often better felt than verbalized, are to be regretted, perhaps, but are undoubtedly a fact. Let him who doubts attend a Negro Church, a Negro baseball game, a Negro dance, and see how they strike him as "somehow different," even perhaps odd, strange, peculiar.

Because there are these differences, and because also most interracial contacts in Churches are set up and managed by whites, Negroes do not find such contacts very relaxing. They feel they must be on their guard, on their best behavior. Because meanings differ as they reflect differing backgrounds, Negroes may interpret phrases or words in the white man's conversation in ways not intended, but they may feel they must act as though communication

were complete and full. They may agree to a point in conversation to which the whites do not expect agreement. There may be misunderstanding; there may be a lack of communication across the racial line. Negroes are more sensitive to this than whites, and suffer more because of it too.

It is unfortunate that friendly whites often assume that they know the problems Negroes have to face, or seem to assume that they know everything about the South, about the Negro patterns of life. In such instances friendly whites elicit a negative response from Negroes. And this negativism is sometimes expressed in subtle non-co-operation or evasion, which is really avoidance of pain.

3. Many Negroes resent white eulogies of spirituals, of Booker T. Washington, of George Washington Carver. They know that white people like these things, these persons. They know that even Southern white people like them. And they know that the Negro contribution to American life is neither so limited nor so glorious as eulogies on these subjects often imply. Negroes are proud also of Percy Julian, of Jackie Robinson, of Hale Woodruff. They are proud of Judge Hastie, of Thurgood Marshall, of Charles Drew. They know that few whites know of these men, but they feel that perhaps these men are doing more to improve Negro standing than did the traditional Wash-

ington or Carver or spiritual singing.

Negroes may also react negatively to references to "helping your race" or "improving the lot of your people" on the lips of the white man. Most Negroes are individualistic enough to want to improve themselves, and they may know that whites think this—in Negroes—an immoral ambition. They know that whites often imply "keeping your place" when they speak of "improving your race."

Negroes also rebel at racial judgments that characterize them—all of them—as religious, childlike, happy-go-lucky, musical. These characterizations smack of the white stereotype of Negroes, which may be justified generally (and may not) but certainly cannot be applied to all individuals in the Negro group. Any white person not seeking to offend had better be careful not to imply that he views Negroes through stereotyped eyes. Negroes will withdraw from personal relations with whites who treat them as fitting a pattern.

These are a few of the essential points for understanding if ventures

into race relations on a social level are to meet with success. There are others, of course, not mentioned here. Whites must be very careful lest they antagonize those whom they want to know, and in being careful they cannot always be spontaneous—though spontaneity of friendship is what is, after all, being sought. Thus there are obstacles and difficulties in efforts to improve race relations through Church suppers and teas, though such efforts ought to go on. Once the difficulties and obstacles are understood, however, the free fellowship of brothers can be achieved.

Life is enriched when people who are different can know each other and share some aspects of life together. But whites meeting Negroes had best not assume either that the Negroes are entirely the same as they, or that the Negroes differ in ways which the white man has traditionally thought. To do so causes the Negroes pain. Pain will not help to bring Negroes and whites closer together. And that is where, in a Christian society, they belong.

The Christian conscience, in its serene moments, when matters are viewed steadily from the double perspective of justice and brotherhood, recognizes the fact that pigmentation, whether of hair or of skin, has nothing to do with status before God and ought therefore to have nothing to do with status amongst men.

—Buell G. Gallagher, in *Color and Conscience: The Irrepressible Conflict*.

Some Social and Political Implications of the Oslo Youth Conference

*By Kenneth Reeves**

THE World Conference of Christian Youth held in Oslo, Norway, this summer reflected the concrete situation found in the Church and in the world—a situation of confusion and chaos. The delegates, except the Americans, brought with them the experience and the story of the despair and the bitterness which follow total war and the collapse of some kind of ordered society. Many young people, including our own, lived through deep spiritual agony as they were struck and dismayed by the divisions and differences displayed by the delegates themselves. The rift between East and West and the political left and right was apparent. Shift of power and responsibility among the nations hurt national pride. For instance, the British and the French delegates knew that American policy would probably decide the future of their countries. Youth from colonial peoples were almost too eager to put forward a case for immediate self-government. Americans, because of this confusion and evidence of disunity, were forced to examine our simplicity of "one world" and found it to exist only as a geographical

reality with small chance in the immediate future of some political and economic unity.

The Church was found to be divided within itself, among the races and the nations, so divided in its practices that many were hopeless that it could exhibit the true unity of the whole body. The Church is weak; scarcely anywhere in this postwar world does it speak with an authoritative voice. Those things for which it stands are more universally denied than accepted.

It was the great hope before Oslo that a single message, a single word of evangelizing power for men and nations, would come from this meeting of Christian young people. The message might have been the conference theme, "Jesus Christ Is Lord," if more of the young people had been ready to accept Christ as Lord of their lives. For many the theme was a slogan because Christ was a memory of a person learned about in Sunday School. The theme revived the memory, but there was no readiness to obey him as Lord. Since Oslo reflected the chaos of a sin-ridden world, the anguish of soul of those who sensed it, and the hope that the despair would lead men to Christ, the one word which many would say God

* Associate Secretary, Division of Higher Education, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

wants spoken from Oslo is that sin and chaos and self-righteousness are dominant in this world and yet Jesus Christ is Lord in this world, though it would appear he is on the cross again.

Both at Oslo and during the tour of certain western European countries by our Presbyterian delegation, fear of America was discovered. This was a surprise and a shock to young Americans, for surely they would be eagerly welcomed by all and in every place.

Europeans are afraid of America because we have it in our power through the supremacy of the dollar to make them subservient to our free-enterprise system. In other words, they could become the cheap labor of American capitalism. They are afraid of us because in the event of an atomic war western Europe would be the scene of the conflict, a war imposed upon them by two great powers. They are afraid of us because they believe we will try to force a free-enterprise system on them when the very logic of recovery from a total war in which capital structure and leadership were lost calls for some type of socialized or managed economy. They are afraid of us because they sense from their humble place how hard it is for us to put ourselves in their shoes; thus they fear our irresponsibility and our slowness to respond to their situation. Yet another fear is based on our indifference about the masses

of people in whom lie political strength and wisdom. Our association with the remnant of wealth and aristocracy convinces the political left that we are bent on restoration of the old order which had its day in the late nineteenth century.

An implication of Oslo, particularly for Americans, is the fact that our delegates exhibited a serious political and cultural isolation from the rest of the world. All the prewar sentimentalities about world friendship haven't helped. Rather, they hindered, for they convinced young people that the easy way out in international affairs was simply to like people. This wasn't hard to do, since American young people met few foreigners, learned no foreign languages well enough for conversation, and neglected the study of history.

Our young people were shocked that so much confusion was to be found in the world. They were surprised to find communism as a positive force and a real alternative. They failed to appreciate the agony of hunger and cold. It was difficult for them to make out with short amounts of food, unattractively prepared. In particular our delegates were oversensitive to criticism of themselves and of our nation. They did not know how to speak positively of our country and also to speak critically. Being demure to criticism, they retired from the scene of conflict or apologized for American dif-

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S.E.A. at Grinnell

*By Nevin E. Kendall**

HUSHED and expectant silence swept across a sea of 2,000 youthful faces as a young man stepped forward, gavel in hand, to open the session of the first National Assembly of Westminster Fellowship at Grinnell College last summer.

The faces were those of Presbyterian young people and their advisers from every part of this nation—from Alaska, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico—and of Christian students from Asia, Africa, and Europe. The young man was Moderator of the National Council of Westminster Fellowship for 1946-1947, Henry Heaps, who hails from a farm in New Jersey.

As the assembly opened, delegates stood and together affirmed in one ringing voice the Westminster Fellowship purpose:

"Our purpose as we unite in Westminster Fellowship is to become such complete disciples of Christ that we will discover God's will for our lives and do it. Therefore:

"We commit ourselves to Christ and purpose to acquire a dynamic faith through Christian experience, worship, and study.

"We dedicate our lives to the expression of this faith by word and deed, seeking to work with those of like purpose and inviting others to

join with us in building today for a Christian world."

The assembly theme was "Thy Purpose We Share."

The program was organized according to the Westminster Fellowship Commission plan, with each commission—Faith and Life, Stewardship, Christian Fellowship, and Christian Outreach, in that order—the theme for a day.

Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will be especially interested in knowing how young people dealt with some of the particular concerns of Social Education and Action. Each morning, after a major address, the assembly divided into several dozen small seminar groups. In each group there was a youth leader and an adult resource person. One of the more popular seminars was on the subject of world order, where they struggled with critical problems of international relations. The resource person, a veteran S.E.A.'er and a good authority on world order, reported that the young people dealt ably with the problem. Like most thoughtful people, they were confused and perplexed, but their discussion was marked by a sincere groping for "Thy Purpose."

There was a seminar on racial fellowship. Young people probably treated this subject more adequately

* Minister, "The Shack," Pursglove, West Virginia.

than any other social problem. That was to be expected because the demands of the Gospel for our ultimate and urgent goal in race relations are clear and simple.

But the actual life of the assembly was more significant than a thousand seminars on racial fellowship. White and non-white students shared meetings, meals, dormitory rooms, and recreation in a manner as natural as it is uncommon. Without any hullabaloo, non-white young people were assigned to lead seminars on subjects for which they had individual competence. With startling celerity these Christian young people, coming out of a color-caste society, fitted readily into the nonsegregated life of the assembly, evidencing what Gallagher calls a "high indifference to color" in their spontaneous fellowship.

In a seminar on social education and action, delegates wrestled with several subjects and discussed ways in which local and presbytery Fellowships can engage in effective social education and action. With the Taft-Hartley law just enacted, industrial relations was a popular subject. Members of the group were surprised and a bit dismayed to discover how few of them came from the homes of union members, how few even knew a single leader of local unions. It was agreed that Presbyterian youth groups should visit factories and union offices, and invite labor leaders to speak at their meet-

ings, if they are to overcome the prejudices of economic background in forming judgments on problems of industrial relations. Keen interest was expressed also in making local Fellowships more inclusive with regard to both racial and economic groups in communities.

At the S.E.A. exhibit, a part of the Westminster Fellowship Exposition, they saw large pictures by *Life* photographers portraying an Adventure in Brotherhood—a vacation in the country for Negro boys and girls as guests in the homes of white families. There were informal bull sessions on almost every concern of S.E.A. as delegates paged through and carried away thousands of pamphlets and leaflets on such subjects as alcohol, world order, child labor, industrial relations, race, anti-Semitism. Informal interest groups held each afternoon were completely optional. But every day delegates came together in an S.E.A. interest group to discuss a subject of their own choosing. Most popular was the question of universal military training.

In addition, there was a Commission feature each afternoon—an hour program presented twice. Friday was Christian Outreach day, and because S.E.A., along with missions and evangelism, comes under the Outreach Commission, the Commission feature was a program on world order. After a showing of the new sound movie, *One World or None*,

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How Fares the Faith of Our Fathers?

*By Edward K. Trefz **

IT IS heartening that practically every Protestant denomination is alert to the grave needs of the Church around the world and is engaged in programs of unusual scope and intensity to minister to them. It is not heartening, however, to observe a growing crisis in our own country, a crisis in which the whole gains of the Reformation are largely at stake, but one to which the rank and file of Protestantism seems generally oblivious. We refer to the increasing encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church upon many of our cherished liberties.

The North College Hill School case in Cincinnati is a case in point. Here, as soon as the Romanists obtained a majority on the school board, steps were taken to oust the superintendent, control the hiring of teachers, and, in short, to set up a parochial school and support it from public funds. Recently the Supreme Court upheld the legality of transporting parochial school children in tax-supported busses in New Jersey, and a similar law was barely defeated in Wisconsin a short time ago. Despite denunciation by practically every major Protestant body, Myron Taylor continues to represent the President as a personal envoy in

Rome. Various bills for Federal aid to education now before Congress in one form or another have a provision for the parochial school to dip into the Federal treasury. The Roman Catholic spokesmen are quite frank about it; they threaten to do all within their power to block any legislation that does not contain such provisions. These are but vivid examples of a movement that is being quietly pursued throughout the length and breadth of our land.

There is nothing in this that should stir resentment against the Roman Catholics. They are doing nothing new. The aims and objectives that the Romanists are now pursuing are the same ones they have historically avowed. It is no secret that the Roman Church seeks to extend its power wherever it can and to control the educational system and the agencies of Government wherever this is possible. The cause for the more aggressive pressing of Romanist claims in our day lies not so much in the growing strength of Catholicism as in the growing apathy and the relaxing vigilance of Protestantism!

Protestants place an unwarranted confidence in their numerical majority on the American scene. This has been a dominantly Protestant country. To be sure many of our

* Associate Professor of Bible and Religion,
Hastings College, Hastings, Nebraska.

cherished principles of government, our ideals of justice and conceptions of personal freedom are products of a Protestant heritage. Historically America is Protestant, and numerically it is overwhelmingly so today. However, to assume that a supremacy in numbers is all that is needed to safeguard our cherished principles is both naïve and precarious.

While Protestant groups on the whole hold the same basic insights and agree on fundamental principles, in experience we have too tragically often emphasized the things that divide us at the expense of the things that unite us. The result is that on important issues Protestantism does not act with concerted harmony whereas the Romanists generally do. A numerical majority is a weak instrument indeed if it cannot be moved with harmonious accord.

Perhaps even more inhibiting to the cause of Protestantism is the ridiculous but widely held notion that it doesn't matter what a man believes so long as he believes something and tries to live by it. There are no doubt millions of Protestants who hold this view and think they are broad-minded and religiously tolerant. No man can be called tolerant who does not know the issues at hand or who does not deeply care about their outcome.

Last term at Hastings College we offered a new course in our department of religion called "Fundamental Beliefs of Protestantism." Nearly

sixty enrolled for the course. Hastings College is Church-related, and our students for the most part have been brought up under the influence of the Church. Yet their understanding of the principles for which Protestantism stands was amazingly meager. If this was true of a group of somewhat select college young people, how much more appalling must be the ignorance of these things in the Church at large!

Some time ago I was discussing this matter with a rather well-known clergyman. To emphasize my contention I asked him how many members of his congregation could give an adequate statement of the meaning of "justification by faith." I was stunned when he answered: "Very few, I suppose. But of what importance is that?"

One of the tragedies of life is that rights and liberties that are sometimes won at tremendous cost, are never permanently won. They can always be lost by those who don't know and those who don't care. If it doesn't matter what a man believes, if one religion is as good as another, then Luther and Calvin and Zwingli were fools and the Reformation was a tragic mistake. If liberty of conscience and freedom of the individual count for nothing, then it is true—one religion is as good as another. If Protestants do not know or do not care about the historic doctrine of separation of Church and State, why should they oppose the

Taylor appointment? If Protestants do not know or do not care that the freedom of the whole public-school system is at stake, why should they be greatly concerned when the purchase of textbooks for parochial schools is authorized from public funds or parochial pupils are granted transportation at public expense? As long as Protestants do not know and do not care about these things another group that does know and does care will continue to have things its own way even in Protestant America.

This is no plea for bigotry and arrogance. God knows we have too much of that already. We do not seek to stir up bitterness and strife with our Romanist brethren. What the world needs and what we need especially in our own country is understanding and co-operation, particularly among Christian groups. But there will not be understanding until we become informed about the issues and there will be little co-operation until we learn those points at which co-operation is possible.

In the chaplaincy, we followed a

dictum "Co-operation without compromise." This points the way toward real tolerance. There are basic principles which we Protestants hold as a matter of conscience. We are convinced they are true and that they would benefit all people if they were more widely accepted. These we must not surrender! Indeed, we must seek for their wider acceptance through an appeal to free minds, and we must oppose any threat of encroachment upon them from whatever quarter it may come.

The Roman Catholics are not to be blamed for what they are doing. They are alert to the issues of the time. They are pursuing their objectives. They know what their Church stands for and they are pressing on toward their goals. Little will be gained by denouncing and haranguing. To snipe at the Romanists will strengthen their position and weaken ours. The only hopeful course is to make Protestantism vital and effective. This will result only when we discover again the great principles of our faith and make them live in our time.

If the grace of God is to be mediated to the world through the Christian Church in our day, Christian men and women must debate boldly and fearlessly the issues that are plaguing our lives. The Early Christian Church did just this with their problems and they rendered a decision. The Reformers of the sixteenth century debated their problems and the world gained a new freedom. Through what institution can Christ give leadership, if the Church does nothing?

—William B. Lampe, in
SOCIAL PROGRESS, January, 1945.

What Price Preparedness?

(Continued from page 3)

capable of directing personnel of the government, resulting in confusion of authority and in political as well as material chaos. There is need for the creation of separate command centers, each one capable of directing the resistance if the others are destroyed.

The widest dispersal is not in itself a sufficient protection for these calls. More reliable assurance of their ability to survive attack would be gained if they were located underground. Of course, such shelters would have to be capable of being sealed off against the radioactivity and bacteria the outside atmosphere might carry. The construction of such underground caverns for whole factories and defensive installations would admittedly be a critical drain on the resources of even the richest nation, but, unlike the underground construction of entire cities, it is feasible. When this program has been put into effect, the country may be able to fight on though its cities lie in ruins and the majority of its people are maimed, dying, or dead.

The second objective of a decentralization program is the protection of urban inhabitants. With forty-five million people crowded into our two hundred largest cities, this is a gigantic task. The best guarantee of safety would be the transformation of the cities into scattered subterranean communities, but less radical changes promise some security. . . .

There is need for a home-defense force, which would have the task of organizing the civilian survivors of the initial attack for guerrilla action against the invading airborne armies of the enemy. The only part that the half-trained reserves produced by one year of compulsory military training could play in a future war would be in such localized resistance. . . . But the real capacity of a country to resist will not be measured by the number

of reserves it has trained for infantry action. It will be measured rather by the size of its stockpiles of the most destructive weapons, by the extent of its industrial dispersal, by the number and degree of readiness of its highly specialized professionals who continuously man the bombing fleets and rocket launchers, make up the mobile striking force, and operate the antiaircraft installations.

3

The danger of atomic or biological sabotage requires a very large security police armed with sweeping powers to search and arrest. Although continuous patrol of the national borders and inspection of every conceivable hiding place in the United States cannot provide absolute protection against the secret introduction of atomic time bombs, an efficient police can decrease the danger, though severely decreasing at the same time the civil liberties we take for granted. Not only will the Government have to restrict drastically the rights and movements of its own citizens, but in self-defense it must attempt to maintain the most efficient intelligence system in the world. The advantage an aggressor may gain by a surprise attack makes it imperative that advance warning be obtained from spies.

These measures cannot be taken without deep changes in the nature of our political and economic institutions. How, for example, can intensive armament production combined with industrial and population dispersal be achieved within a system of private enterprise? Certainly there will have to be long-range Government planning to a degree never dreamed of in the United States. No privately owned company will indulge voluntarily in the highly unprofitable enterprise of moving its plants out of a city and burying them in the open country. Preparedness on the scale now necessary demands a national defense plan that will have to

govern and direct the entire economy. This plan must determine what proportion of the national income is to be devoted to the various protective measures, and the priority in which each step must be taken in order to assure the greatest speed and economy.

This national defense plan will require regimentation in its most extreme form, but its effect and purpose will be directly opposite to the kind of welfare planning advocated by New Deal liberals. Its sole objective must be to create military power greater than that of any possible group of opponents; and as the competition grows in intensity, the individual will have to sacrifice more and more of his material welfare to its unlimited demands. Centralized and autocratic control of the economy is unavoidable, whatever the forms of ownership, so long as the nation must be continuously prepared to resist an atomic attack. . . .

There is but one rational argument that can be used to justify these sacrifices. It is undeniable that, in a world of armed states, superior military strength is the only way for a nation to protect its rights and territory. . . . Because our own country and Russia are the only two states physically capable of waging a modern war with any hope of victory, each is the sole threat to the security of the other.

Forced by international anarchy to prepare for another war, the leaders of the only two nations capable of waging such a war tend to exaggerate the points of difference in the two societies as a means of persuading their respective populations of the moral value of their sacrifices. The noblest principles of freedom become fraudulent propaganda when they are used to disguise an amoral competition for brute force and to lash masses of men into a crusading fury against each other. As the burden of armaments grows, the propaganda will have to grow proportionately until the American and Russian

people are so indoctrinated with mutual fear, and so convinced of the righteous morality of their separate causes, that they will submit to all that preparedness now involves.

Total preparedness means totalitarianism for American citizens. There is hardly an aspect of human life that will not have to be corrupted to the organized pursuit of force. Together with their loss of the democratic right to determine public policy, the large majority of American citizens stand to lose also their right to choose their work and to live where they please. It is unlikely that the freedoms of speech and assembly can be allowed to survive. Conscripted to serve in the defense forces or to labor in the subterranean factories, regulated by police restrictions in their attempts to travel, subjected to arbitrary search and arrest, forced to work longer hours at less pay, they will become mere instruments of the state. If there is complaint against these staggering sacrifices, the answer will always be that they are necessary in order to preserve the sovereign independence of the United States. This is the monumental irony inherent in the whole policy of modern preparedness.

4

Every argument that American leaders have advanced to prove the need for war preparations applies with equal force to the Soviet Union—and with more immediacy. To understand the present concern of the Russians with national security, one must imagine what the attitude of Americans would be if the United States had no atomic bombs and the Soviet Union had a monopoly of them. Unable to strike back with equal force from the attack which the United States is today technically capable of delivering, the Russians have an incentive for preparedness which we shall be able to comprehend only if we are faced one day with the superiority of a potential enemy.

The actual physical measures of defense necessitated by the new weapons are the same for Russia as they are for the United States. It therefore seems fatuous under present conditions to demand that the Russian leaders replace the strict discipline of the Communist Party with the more representative methods of parliamentary democracy. An increase in regimentation is rather to be expected, and today the Russian people are being exhorted to "the highest pitch of ability and technical skill under iron discipline," as the official propaganda puts it.

Likewise, the curtain of censorship and travel regulations performs functions indispensable to Russia's security. By restricting the entrance of foreigners and by keeping continuous watch on them while they are in the country, the Russians can hope to prevent potential enemies from discovering the nature of their defensive preparations. By sifting incoming news and by restricting the travel of Soviet citizens abroad, the Government is able to reconcile the Russian people to their lot with the indispensable illusion that workers elsewhere are victims of even worse conditions.

To Americans, the existence of the Russian secret police, the NKVD, is the most damning indictment against the Soviet state. Yet it is difficult to see how so useful an instrument of national security can be eliminated, as long as the menace of attack remains. Far from permitting the abolition of the police, the extreme sacrifices now demanded of a weary people require that it be strengthened.

Like the United States, the Soviet Union is necessarily engaged in the worldwide competition to strengthen its allies, to win over such smaller nations as are still neutral, and to weaken potential enemies. Although its methods are more ruthless and direct than our own, Soviet policy in the Balkans is similar to American intervention in China and Greece. Each competitor seeks to ensure by force

that the other does not gain the controlling influence in areas each considers essential to its security.

Every aspect of the Soviet state which the citizens of the Western democracies find objectionable is indispensable to its defense. The one-party dictatorship, the political censorship, the secret police, and the intervention abroad are all essential to a Russian Government confronted with the threat of atomic-biological war. Only when that threat has been removed will the Russian regime have the opportunity to relax its harsh discipline and to provide its citizens with a wider area of civil liberty and political responsibility.

The future into which preparedness must lead the American and Russian people should now be clear. From the mass slaughters of the past, only two colossi have survived with sufficient strength to fight again. Each strives to establish such overwhelming military might that it need not fear the other, and yet these efforts merely multiply their suspicions. Like a malignant cancer, fear insatiably eats away what is best in both societies, as the riches of the land and the minds and bodies of the citizens are hammered into vast machines ready for instantaneous retaliation. When the populations of both states have been reduced to the indoctrinated and disciplined instruments of their respective high commands, preparedness will be complete, and life for the individual will be a drawn-out agony of oppression and suspense.

In spite of this perfectly predictable outcome of their present policies, the two Governments continue to promise their citizens peace and security if they will only sacrifice enough for armaments. If in truth the American and Russian people could avoid war by building two opposing citadels of power, the sacrifices they are called upon to make might perhaps be justified. But is this the case?

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For Tim

The War Is Not Over

The "Marshall Approach" set forth in Secretary of State Marshall's address at Harvard University, June 5, has now come home to America as the European Recovery Plan, formulated and subscribed to at Paris by sixteen nations. The co-operation achieved by these nations in planning together to produce such a blueprint for substantial recovery by 1951 is reason to thank God and take heart.

The tax this plan will place on this nation is of slight consequence in view of the benefit it secures. It is a thrilling fact that sixteen nations making up the Paris Co-operating Committee face together their common problems and are allies in the battle of production and reconstruction with a good hope of winning that war by 1951. Surely, the call for a special session of Congress will be issued to act on this economic recovery plan.

The plan is recommended by the very fact that there are features of it not altogether pleasing to our own policy makers. Evidently the members of our State Department who advised these nations could not or would not dictate the details of the plan. The plan is Europe's answer to the portion of Mr. Vishinsky's intemperate charge before the United Nations that these states would be vassals of the United States. The best answer by America to the accusation of economic imperialism will be the adoption of the plan by Washington.

The temptation to imperialism is already pressed in the proposal to substitute for the Paris plan loans to private individuals and corporations rather than Governments. We may expect more attacks on the European Recovery Plan. It is suggested that aid should be given such concerns as "General Motors seeking to develop facilities in western Europe as part of the overall aid program." The Senator making this proposal declared, "We must curb the spread of socialism as well as communism, and stimulation of private enterprise is the only way to do it." Many who share the Senator's enthusiasm for our favored form of free enterprise will be dismayed by his method of making converts—a method that would win neither the co-operation nor the respect of the needy but "freedom-loving" nations. The suggestion is offensive to democracies that believe in the right of self-government, including the choice and control of their own economic system.

The European Recovery Plan is substantial evidence that the war is not over. There are also tragic reminders in our own land. Recently, a young nurse died in Portland, Oregon. Her wounds were nearly three years old—wounds of the jungle, suffered in Burma during the fighting of Stillwell's

Take These

men. She was in charge of the most advanced station behind the lines. Savages, Chinese soldiers, and a few American casualties were her patients and companions. She fought for a "clearing" of health and cleanliness in the darkness of the forest and primitive living. She established a "beachhead" of life in a jungle of death. A casualty of the jungle, she was flown home to the hospitals. Her life was months of alternating weakness and failing strength until the end. The war is not over for this home, nor for any of the homes of our honored dead. It is not over for any of us save the faithless who would desert now to normalcy while three fourths of the world are sick with hunger and dying from despair. It is a betrayal of the cause of our young dead to give only of our surplus to save Europe. He traduces the honor of the nation who suggests we will do anything less than the recovery of Europe requires. During the darkest days of the war we did not ask whether we could afford victory. The nation was pledged to victory. It cost our treasury 350 billion dollars, our homes their sons and daughters. The continuing crisis requires as complete a commitment to winning the peace. It includes the willingness to adopt such disciplined living and controls as are required to implement the European Recovery Plan.

The reflection that the assistance Europe requires is but a fraction of the treasure they offered on freedom's altar should recall us to our duty. We believe that the United States would no more forsake these people in the ruins of Europe than we would desert our allies on the battlefield. But that faithfulness needs to be proclaimed. There has already been enough delay to turn the desperation of Europe to despair. We look to the Administration and to Congress for bold leadership of the nation in meeting the need of Europe.

Restoration for Destruction?

Our investment in European recovery must be protected against cancellation by the burgeoning arms race. The article by Cord Meyer in this issue suggests the limited security that conscription and militarism promise to a deformed democracy. If we follow this course, we will still live (for a limited time) in North America but not in a democracy. Americans will witness the evil day when they have survived the loss of their freedom.

The pursuit of security by unilateral measures of defense threatens to make Europe a part of the battleground in the atomic war. We must stop the march to war by multilateral disarmament and security through the United Nations. Without this action, aid to Europe will only restore her cities for destruction and save her children for the slaughter.

The Role of the U. S. in World Trade

(Continued from page 6)

standards of living. As we do that, we will ensure for ourselves greater stability at home and less danger of aggression from abroad.

Fourthly, expanding world trade will lessen the necessity for other countries to restrict their exports to the United States, thus enabling us to obtain from them those critical materials we need.

And, fifthly, tariffs and other trade barriers constitute a form of regimentation. During the last several years of war controls there has been the constant cry that we in the United States wish to return to free enterprise and see other peoples adopt free enterprise also, but we ourselves impose severe Governmental controls in the field of foreign trade. We may think our tariff quite proper although we dislike the quota systems of other countries, little realizing that others consider our system as unfair as we do theirs. Any elimination of Governmental controls, whether in the forms of subsidies or quotas or tariffs, will help to establish free enterprise.

U. S. Exports

In considering our problem, and before dealing with imports, we should consider whether we must export if we want prosperity at home. We accept readily the premise that large exports are essential to our economy.

It has been said that we must export, based on past history, about 10 per cent of our total national production. Although the over-all figure of our exports has been 10 per cent, the percentage of goods exported in certain mass production industries has been even far greater than that.

In 1937 and 1938, one a good year and one a poor year, we exported 33 per cent

of our production of aircraft and parts, 31 per cent of our cotton, 30 per cent of our lubricating oil, 29 per cent of our tobacco, 12 per cent of our office appliances. These industries would have suffered greatly had they not been able to ship abroad, and these industries will assuredly go into an economic tailspin if they cannot export in the future.

It is also important to know that during the last forty-odd years our exports have shifted. In 1901-1915, 61 per cent of our exports were agricultural products; 39 per cent were nonagricultural. In 1939 our agricultural exports were only 21 per cent, and our nonagricultural, 79 per cent.

Even though there will be this shift in American industry, and the National Planning Association prediction for 1950 is realized, in which only \$1 billion out of the \$7 billion of anticipated exports will be agricultural goods, I do not think that our economy will be harmed. With full employment in our industries we shall be able to consume 800,000,000 or so bushels of wheat, which is slightly more than the average production in the period 1933-1942, plus the country's dairy and meat products, so that our farmers will not suffer if their exports are not as great as in the early 1900's. It is also an important corollary that if we have unemployment in our export industries, farmers will lose their customers at home and be even worse off. Hence, if we would achieve a national income of \$175 billion, which is the figure expressed by so many well-known and competent economists, we must think in terms of at least \$7 billion a year in exports, if not more nearly \$10 to \$12 billion.

It is obvious that if we wish to sell our goods to other peoples of the world, we must buy from them so that they will be able to pay for imports from us.

U. S. Imports

Before the war more than 70 per cent of all our imports consisted of raw ma-

terials, crude materials, and semi-processed materials that were used in our factories for further processing.

Of course we all know a good many of the products we do not produce here at all, products that we use every day, such as tea, coffee, rubber, bananas. There are still other commodities, such as cinchona, quartz crystals, mica, tin, and tungsten, which we must import from other parts of the world. Then too, we must know that during the war period, as well as during the immediate prewar period, we depleted certain of our natural resources to a great extent. Elmer Pehrson, of the Bureau of Mines, has estimated that at the 1935-1939 annual rate of use, we have only from one to nine years' reserves underground of tin, nickel, chromium, manganese, asbestos, mercury, platinum, tungsten, and a number of other minerals.

Even though we have, according to Pehrson's estimate, about thirty-four years' reserve of copper, the prospect for this year is that we shall be able to mine only one million tons and will have to obtain at least half a million more tons from abroad in order to manufacture all the copper products that are needed and that can be marketed.

The Consumer Pays

I wonder if you know that on some of the minerals that we must obtain from abroad, an antiquated tariff system still imposes a duty which penalizes the American consumer. For example, there is a duty of 4 cents a pound on the copper content of copper ore; $1\frac{1}{10}$ cents on lead, and $\frac{1}{2}$ cent a pound on manganese. By and large, these minerals are low in price, so the specific rates of duty can well be from 10 to 20 per cent of their cost, depending upon market conditions. Although we must import these minerals, we nevertheless put a tariff on them to protect the submarginal mines in the United States which do not constitute an economic operation either from the profits

that they show or from the employment of much labor.

Despite our need for foreign goods, the so-called Stock Piling Act of 1946 carried in it the same "Buy American" clause of the Buy American Act of 1933, which compelled Government agencies to buy only goods produced in the United States. The only modification in the act of 1946 was the insertion of a provision that this policy was to apply, except "where inconsistent with the public interest."

Lastly, although large imports of consumer goods could be utilized by the people of the United States without adversely affecting industry, throughout our tariff and economic history there has been a hostility to the importation of foreign goods.

When the United States was a young agricultural economy, first developing its industries, the argument for the protection of "infant industries" had its validity, but I would question today the extent to which our industries are entitled to protection. If they are not subjected to at least a certain amount of competition from efficient producers in other parts of the world, will the American consumer get a break and be able to buy the goods that he needs and uses in his everyday life at a reasonable price?

A Few Examples

Again, I wonder how many of you know the rates of duties imposed on some of the products that you use. I would like to read you just a few: china, porcelain, and sanitary ware, 70 per cent, ad valorem; lamp globes, 70 per cent; two-ply plate glass, 60 per cent; perfume and toilet water bottles, 75 per cent; glass tableware and kitchen articles, 60 per cent; slide fasteners and zippers, 66 per cent; woolen infants' hats, caps, and bonnets, sixty cents per pound, plus 75 per cent of the value; ladies' felt hats, 50 per cent; wool socks and hose, 65 per cent; silk fabrics, more than 50 per cent; and

worsted, woolen, and mohair fabrics, something over 80 per cent.

Do these industries have a right to ask for such colossal protection when it is borne in mind that these rates of duty make the prices to the consumer from a half to twice as much more, simply because of the imposition of such high rates of duty?

At the same time, I know well that we cannot today go to a completely free trade economy. The dislocations would be far too great. However, if we are sincere about dealing with other peoples of the world and about exporting heavily for the benefit of American industries, we must be willing to make reductions in our tariffs and buy more from others so that they can pay us for that which we ship to them.

Imbalance of Trade

Our total exports in 1946 of goods and services were in the neighborhood of \$15 billion, and against that we imported goods and services worth \$7 billion. There were about \$2 billion in foreign assets in gold liquidated here, and assuredly we do not need added gold. We should not want such assets of others. On long- and short-term credits there were some \$3 billion. I believe in short-term credits, and I believe in long-term loans and credits if they will help in the industrialization of other parts of the world and the raising of their standards of living, but I think American investments abroad for productive purposes must be considered quite apart from the exchange of goods. We cannot, over the long term, sell abroad and lend abroad, and still buy much less from abroad. It cannot possibly work. If we are unwilling to accept this premise, then we must be willing to accept the consequences of a shrinking export trade and must be concerned with the way in which capital and labor are employed here at home.

An Aid to Trade

In 1934 we made some progress when Congress enacted the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act fostered by former Secretary of State Hull. As a businessman, I am of course vitally interested in, and concerned with, the future of business and the maintenance of large production and consumption in the United States. Therefore, I am also greatly interested in a program of international trade that will expand both exports and imports and thereby assure us of greater business stability at home. Both of these purposes have been well served by the reciprocal trade agreements program. Since the passage of the act in 1934, agreements have been made with twenty-eight foreign countries. For the two years 1938 and 1939, as compared with the years 1934 and 1935, United States exports to trade agreement countries increased 63 per cent as against an increase of only 32 per cent in exports to nonagreement countries. For the same periods, our imports from trade agreement countries increased 27 per cent as against an increase of only 12.5 per cent in imports from non-trade agreement countries. The total foreign trade of the United States was 30 per cent higher in 1938 and 1939 than it was in 1934 and 1935. Of course, other factors in our business recovery during that period played an important part in our larger volume of trade. At the same time a detailed analysis of all export and import trade compels the conclusion that the reciprocal trade agreement program made a substantial contribution to these gains. For example, our agricultural exports, despite the declining trend during the first thirty years of this century, were increased 50 per cent with trade agreement countries between 1934-1935 and 1938-1939, while declining 26 per cent with nontrade agreement countries. Also, none of the analyses which I have seen indicates that any industry in the

United States was harmed by the trade agreements program during the period under review.

We must bear in mind that beneficial as the reciprocal trade agreements program has been, it can be viewed only as a beginning in the moderation of our high protective tariff system, which many feel did so much to bring about the economic distress of the early thirties. There still remains much to be done by the United States to bring about the necessary balance of exports and imports which will make for international economic stability.

A close examination of the results of the reciprocal trade agreements program shows that countries with which we concluded agreements were not able to expand their exports to us as fast as they expanded their imports from us. Obviously this is a self-defeating program. Therefore, we must regard the reciprocal trade agreements not as an end, but only as a beginning toward the objective of expanded world trade; there still remains the achievement of an equitable flow of world trade. Such an equitable flow has only one practical meaning when translated into action—the United States must expand its imports.

I would be dishonest if I denied that the lowering of tariff barriers on certain goods would affect certain industries adversely. Of course it will affect individual industries adversely, just as high tariffs affect certain industries favorably. The basic problem we must decide for our economy as a whole is wherein we can employ the greatest amount of capital and labor. If we are able to increase exports so as to utilize more capital and labor than would be released in certain industries forced to curtail their business, resulting in a net gain to the American economy as a whole, then the program is good.

I do not blame any businessman for objecting if he is adversely affected by the tariff. I imagine that I would object

if the products of our company were so affected. At the same time, while I think that every individual businessman has a right to protect himself, I think it is the duty of Congress and of the executive branch of government to consider the economy as a whole and not yield to the individual pressure groups that can shout most loudly. The Government must be the arbitrator for the economy as a whole. It must study and decide upon the inevitable shift in American industry that will be most beneficial to all, even though it may be harmful to a few.

Education for Internationalism

If we would support an active leadership for our role in world trade, it is vital that the people of the United States be educated to an understanding of international economic problems.

Without active support, the United Nations will fail, as may also the program of the Department of State in setting up the International Trade Organization. The American people at large are sadly ignorant of international economic affairs. Our great economic development at home during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries in itself made for provincialism. The vastness of the United States also makes for increasing provincialism. We have developed a certain traditional hostility to foreigners that has not been overcome by education and which, coupled with continual nationalistic propaganda, makes it difficult for us to take an active part in world affairs.

I feel that our schools are inadequate in teaching our children about what goes on in the world, and think that there is truth in the statement that as you move 100 miles toward the interior, from either seaboard, you meet increasing "international illiteracy." It is important that we think of what needs to be done within our educational system if we would teach our young people what it means to live in a world at peace with others; if we would

teach them to support the role of the United States in world affairs.

In our elementary schools I would show, through stories, games, and plays, the similarities between our children and those abroad in play, studies, and daily ways of living. I would emphasize the teaching of the geography and history of other countries as well as our own, rather than concentrating heavily on the political history of the United States or England, as we have been doing in the past.

Our high schools also are woefully deficient in the study of geography, and I think that in addition to that subject, our schools should include courses in economic and cultural history as well as in political history. In college, I think that courses in economics, philosophy, and political history should be integrated with courses as to how people have actually lived and do live. Only through education will we give our young people a training for adulthood in which they will understand the importance of living with people of other national states.

Time is short; we cannot wait for the new crop of children to grow up, so there is much to be done today in the field of adult education. Many literate groups can help in a program of education through motion pictures, meetings with trade-unions and farm organizations, and night classes in schools and colleges.

It is not an easy job, but we must break down that prejudice arising from ignorance and nationalism. We must learn that while political loyalty to the political state is of vast importance to us and is something in which we can take proper pride, economic loyalty extends far beyond the political.

The People's Responsibility

In a democracy we elect to public office those who legislate and those who administer the laws. Our tendency is to play with the term "democracy" too loosely,

and too many "nice" people say they will have nothing to do with the "filthy business" of politics. In a democracy, however, we are governed by people of our own choosing, and unless the literate people are willing to take an active part in politics, which is actually obtaining sound political, economic, and social legislation, a democracy can well fail.

Years ago Lincoln Steffens wrote: "The people are not innocent; we cheat our government and let our leaders loot it. And we let them wheedle and bribe our sovereignty from us. We break our own laws and rob our own government. The lady at the Custom House, the lynch-er with his rope, and the captain of industry with bribe and rebate; the spirit of graft and lawlessness is the American spirit. The boss is not a politician; he is an American institution, a product of a free people who have not the spirit to be free. The misgovernment of the American people is misgovernment by the American people."

Whatever truth there is in that statement lies in the fact that the mass of our people are still undergoing education, that we are still a raw and young people as history goes. Also, the well-informed people, the "nice" people that I mentioned, neglect their responsibilities toward their fellow citizens and toward the body politic. So I would impress upon you the need for work if you believe in the achievement of world peace and plenty. Unless there is a sympathetic interest in the United Nations, and an overwhelming urge for its success, the role of the United States in world affairs and world trade will weaken and fall by the wayside. Only an awakened and dynamic public opinion, only great popular demand will bring into being and action the fundamentals that I have discussed. I hope very much that all of you will try to do your share toward that goal, so that our people and our Government will make their great contribution in the shaping of a good world in which to live.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

A special session of Congress seems inevitable in the light of the serious plight of Europe and the rest of the world. Two problems will be considered by Congress, and a third is likely to be in the "call": (a) our domestic inflation, (b) world relief—the so-called Marshall Plan, (c) universal military training.

Domestic Inflation. The current average weekly wage rate according to Government reports is about \$48. This means that half of our wage earners receive less than this amount. Without controls our domestic market competes with our foreign markets and their dwindling supply of dollars. Are we prepared to accept the kind of personal sacrifice that is before us so that "the substance of the earth" may be shared with all mankind?

World Relief. The economic and spiritual implications of the present call for economic help for the world is discussed in the article "The Role of the United States in World Trade" and in the editorial. These articles indicate sound bases of procedure, and offer guidance to help evaluate daily news items.

Universal Military Training. Articles in the September, October, and November issues of SOCIAL PROGRESS indicate the content and implications of this measure. The new bill, H.R. 4278, was reported to the House without any public hearings thereon. In addition to the implications inherent in U.M.T., this particular bill leaves two major questions unanswered: 1. What is meant by "at least such period as the President may subscribe" as applied to the terms of service for all those assigned to alternate programs? 2. What will happen to Negroes and other racial groups when assignment to the alternate programs are based on "subject to such quota limitations and standards of qualification and selection as may be prescribed by the President"? Would it not be better to have questions as great as these spelled out in the actual bill? This bill is ready to be listed on the

House calendar. The place to defeat U.M.T. is in the House.

These are critical times. Letters to your Congressmen are not to be minimized, but personal visits from well-informed citizens whose one concern is to deal with those methods that "promote the Kingdom of God" have no equal in value. Every Congressman is harassed by those who want personal gains. Can we not in this day pave a new road in our democracy based upon the untried principles as outlined for us in the Gospel of Christ?

Addenda to Bills for Concern of Christians (see SOCIAL PROGRESS, October, 1947, p. 32):

Join the International Trade Organization. No bill as yet. Negotiations are under way in Geneva, Switzerland, on the organization and charter of the I T O, and a meeting of the provisional organization in the United States this fall is under consideration. Even the formation of the I T O was seriously threatened by the attacks on the reciprocal trade program in the United States and by the wool bill which passed both Houses. The original wool bill was vetoed by the President and later amended to provide for domestic subsidy on wool but not for altering the agreements on tariff rates with Australia, New Zealand, and other countries.

Strengthening the United Nations. In the House of Representatives 10 resolutions identical with S. Con. Res. 24, "That the President of the United States under Article 109 of the United Nations charter should call a conference of the United Nations to enact and enforce world law to prevent war" were introduced by 10 Congressmen: H. Con. Res. 59, by Walter Judd; 60, by Brooks Hays; 61, by James P. Richards; 62, by Estes Kefauver; 63, by William T. Byrne; 64, by M. Mansfield; 65, by Karl Mundt; 66, by Robert Hale; 67, by Frederick A. Muhlenberg; and 68, by Richard M. Nixon. These were referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee; no further action was taken.

Sanctuary

Individual Dedication to World Order *

Invocation:

Bestow upon us also, O Lord our God, understanding to know Thee, diligence to seek Thee, wisdom to find Thee, and a faithfulness that may finally embrace Thee: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.—*Thomas Aquinas.*

Meditation:

We have grown tired to death of smatterings of knowledge, dispensed by professors and instructors hired to teach that smattering and nothing more.

We want to get our teeth into something vibrant and alive, something permanent, something which ties the present to the TRUTHS of a glorious past. We want discipline in the job of living.—*From an editorial in a university daily.*

He is not lost
Who does not see the way
If still his soul affirms
There is a way.

—*Author unknown; found by Dr. L. S. Cozart, President Barbara Scotia College, Concord, N. C., on the blackboard of a small isolated Negro school.*

Prayers:

The People's Prayer

(In the Washington Memorial Chapel, at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, a businessman of fifty had an idea. Three weeks previously, the first atomic bomb had fallen on Hiroshima; the time had come for a universal prayer, a prayer for men and women of all faiths and ways of life.

The businessman consulted lawyers, carpenters, bankers, bricklayers, manufacturers, train conductors, in an effort to discover their reactions to such a prayer. The results of his questioning were unanimously affirmative. On the strength of these, he asked a great scholar of English to compose the prayer; an Ohio schoolteacher later wrote the preamble.

The businessman presented the prayer to many religious leaders, all of whom felt it to be a remarkable and timely human document. He contacted experts in public relations, noted editors and educators, and by degrees the word spread that here was a prayer which crossed all barriers of race and creed; it was truly universal.)

Almighty God

FATHER OF ALL MEN

to Thee we raise thankful hearts
for deliverance from forces of evil
and we pray for peace for all time.

* Arranged by M. Willard Lampe, Administrative Director, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

Deliver us also, we beseech Thee, from
the greater danger of ourselves.
Have mercy upon us and forgive us for
our part in the present desolation of the world.

Awaken us each one
to a sense of our responsibility
in saving the world from ruin.
Open our eyes and minds and hearts
to the desperate plight of millions.
Arouse us from indifference into action.
Let none of us fail to give his utmost in
sympathy, understanding, thought and effort
that our children unto all generations
may live in a world free from
jealousy, selfishness and fear.
Fulfill in us and through us
Thy glorious intention that Thy peace,
Thy love and Thy justice may enter into
the regeneration of the world.

My Prayer

Dear God, open my heart and mind as I go about obtaining my university training. Help me to acquire, not a vacuum of facts, but a way of life that will make my life a contribution to the world. I need your help in making friends and being a friend. O God, I don't want fame or publicity. Take my life and do with it what you want to do with it. I'll go where you want me to go, dear Lord. I'll do what you want to do. I'll say what you want me to say. I am thankful for a Christian mother, for having known some wonderful people, for an opportunity to develop my capacities and abilities, and for the Jesus, I know, who gave his life that I might live more abundantly. Amen.—*From the notebook of a university student.*

Hymn of Aspiration and Dedication: God of Our History.

God of our history,
Our fathers worshipped Thee
With one accord.
They were from many lands,
Of many creeds and clans,
But Thee, with lifted hands,
They all adored!

God of the present hour,
Send forth Thy saving power
In this our day;
Grant us the grace to see,
In our diversity,
Thy bond of unity—
Father, we pray.

Blend Thou our liberty
With true fraternity
The world around;
'Til every land be free
To trust not only Thee
But all humanity;
And peace abound.

God of our destiny,
Be this old Litany
Our staff and rod:
"Do justly" while we may,
"Love mercy" day by day,
"Walk humbly" all the way
With Thee our God!

—M. Willard Lampe.

What Price Preparedness?

(Continued from page 19)

Those who assert that the United States or the Soviet Union or any nation can avert war today by preparing for it are either blind to the facts or bent on aggression. In the absence of a reliable system of international security, armed strength is a necessity for every nation, but it is no substitute for a workable world organization. No stable and enduring balance of power can result from the growing rivalry. Rather, an inflammable mixture is being created of mutual suspicions and hatreds which must sooner or later explode.

Defensive measures are no longer distinguishable from preparations for attack. The same military and political precautions necessary to ensure a country's capacity to retaliate would be equally essential if it planned an offensive war of conquest. In compelling nations to rely on the threat of retaliation to deter aggression, the new weapons have placed a time bomb under the already unstable structure of international anarchy. The most elementary defensive precautions of a peaceful Government are sufficient to spread terror and provoke desperate countermeasures. The impossibility of discovering the real intentions behind the physical necessities of preparedness makes it inevitable that what one state legitimately regards as an essential measure of self-defense, another will interpret as nearly equivalent to a declaration of war.

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Three stages in the progress of the rivalry can be distinguished. The first stage exists at the present time. It is the period during which the United States has atomic weapons and the Soviet Union, so far as we know, has none. By 1950, this stage will probably have ended and the Russians will have begun to manufacture atomic explosives. So long as the United

States thinks itself the sole possessor of the new means of destruction, it is open to a peculiar temptation.

That temptation is preventive war. Before it is dismissed as a monstrous fantasy into which the citizens of the United States would never permit themselves to be led, the arguments for such a course of action must be considered, because they are heard with increasing insistence. The proponents of the preventive attack base their case mainly on the argument that the United States is today at the height of its power and will never again be capable of winning an atomic conflict with so little damage to itself. They warn that Russia's potential strength in industry and man power and its crusading ideology make it a redoubtable opponent in any prolonged struggle for armed supremacy.

Those who oppose preventive war cannot rest their case on the comfortable conviction that the American people would never permit their Government to begin a war. The magnitude of the new forces of destruction has introduced an entirely new element into the historical process, and it is not safe to use the past as a basis for predicting how a terrified people will employ the tremendous power of which they momentarily find themselves the sole possessors. Only when a majority of Americans understand the full consequences of such a war, and are given a practical alternative to the continuation of the arms race, will there be a real assurance that the temptation to attack will be resisted.

Morally, preventive war is a polite name for aggression. The suspicion that our victim was planning to attack us at some future date could not mitigate the guilt of having destroyed many millions of innocent human beings. That section of world opinion which had previously tended to support the American version of democracy against the ruthless violence of Russian methods would stand

appalled and alienated. No American could then maintain that his country had defended the traditional Christian respect for the human personality against Communistic materialism. The speechless deed would make a ghastly mockery of such pretensions to morality. Preventive war is the act for which we executed the Nazi leaders at Nuremberg. Let those who actively urge such a policy, and those who aid it by their silence, realize that if successful they will be as responsible for the mass execution of millions of defenseless men, women, and children as if they personally shot them down one by one.

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Practically, the preventive war does not promise the cheap and easy victory claimed for it by its supporters. The dropping of the first American atomic bomb would be the signal for a sweep of the Russian infantry to the English Channel. A similar assault would be launched through Turkey and the Middle East, and another drive would be begun by the Siberian Army to gain control of Manchuria and China. A long and costly land campaign cannot be avoided by exploiting a monopoly on atomic bombs. In the course of the struggle, the civilization of western Europe would be totally destroyed. It may be that the Russians already possess biological weapons, and they would have no hesitation in using them against North America if we attacked them.

If we postpone a preventive war and if the arms race continues, the second stage will be reached when the Soviet Union has produced sufficient atomic bombs to devastate the major American cities. Russia will then be in a position to wreak such terrible retaliation that the temptation to attack it will be considerably reduced. However, it is probable that war will occur during this second stage, even though both nations are capable of atomic offensives.

A number of situations may develop

during this period, any one of which could conceivably lead to conflict. One Government or the other may become convinced, as the competition proceeds, that it is falling behind in the construction of weapons and in underground dispersal of industries. This knowledge might provoke the losing side to attack in order to deny the advantage of the initiative to its opponent, and in fear that further delay might add to the other's power. There is the danger that both Governments might commit themselves to a sequence of events from which neither could retreat. Incident can lead to incident and concession to concession, until finally, in desperation, a nation decides that to yield once more is to lose forever the ability to defend itself.

One thing is certain in this second stage of the struggle. If war occurs while both nations are able to survive aggression with sufficient force to counterattack, the result will be complete devastation of the cities of both nations and their allies. . . .

If war is avoided during the second stage and the competition for power continues, a third stage may develop. Dr. Irving Langmuir has predicted and defined the nature of this third and final phase. According to him, the time will come when an aggressor may achieve such offensive strength that "atomic bombs or radioactive poisons distributed over the country might destroy practically the whole area of the country, so that no effective retaliation could be offered." If a hydrogen-helium bomb of a thousand times the power of the present bombs can be constructed in the near future, as responsible officials have predicted, this third phase may soon be reached. Then an attack will be an irresistible temptation. When the fear of retaliation is no longer a deterrent, the only defense will be aggression.

7

Should the great powers prove unable to agree to an effective system of inter-

national security ending their present rivalry, war seems inevitable. By seeking safety in national armaments, the United States and Russia are creating a situation from which there is no escape but war—or surrender at the threat of war.

As popular apprehension grows concerning the consequences of the arms race, the attempt to fix the blame continues. Those who defend Russia insist that the United States began the rivalry by the way it has exercised its atomic monopoly. They point out that two atomic bombs were used in apparently hysterical haste against a country that was nearly beaten already. After this sudden eradication of more than 120,000 civilians of a prostrate enemy, other nations, it is argued, could have little faith in protestations that the bomb was safe in American hands. Those who believe that the United States Government is primarily responsible for the development of the arms race can further point out that the United States waited ten critical months before proposing the specific terms on which it would be willing to share in an international control of atomic energy. Our Government is said to have left the Russian leaders with no choice but to prepare for another war.

This line of argument is countered by the contention that it was Russia, and not the United States, which originally committed the provocative acts that made the present rivalry inevitable. The United States, according to this view, first pursued a policy of compromise and co-operation, making concession after concession at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. When this policy only served to increase the Russian demands, the American Government was forced to conclude that the insatiable Russian appetite for territory could not be appeased by compromise, and that only by confronting the Soviet rulers with superior force could they be restrained. Therefore, the argument con-

cludes, it is Russia that provoked the arms race, and if war is the outcome, the Russian rulers are criminally guilty.

So the debate rages. In reality, neither of the two Governments is immediately responsible for the mounting struggle in which they find themselves engaged. They are both reacting in a natural and predictable manner to the compulsions of international anarchy. The ultimate cause of the struggle must be found in the fatal inadequacy of such international institutions as do exist. Both the American and Russian Governments must share the responsibility for this state of affairs, because at the end of World War II neither of them was willing to confer sufficient power and authority on an international organization to make it a reliable instrument for the preservation of peace.

Must we then wait in despair to be crushed by a war that we can do nothing to prevent? I refuse to believe it. There is hope that men are sufficiently rational to acquiesce in their own survival. In the knowledge that another conflict would be the suicide of civilized society, the United States, Russia, and the other nations can find the motive for surrendering the right and means of waging war. By amendment, the United Nations must be given sufficient armed strength to enforce world laws regulating national armament and prohibiting acts of aggression.

As American citizens, we still enjoy the privilege of free speech and free elections. We are under no compulsion to remain silent, docile, and indifferent as we are marched down the steepening road of the armament race to our destruction. We can demand of our Government that it propose to the other nations the formation of a world law and a world police to enforce it. Until the United States has indicated its readiness to take this step, the rest of humanity can only wait and watch as its fate is decided before the bar of American opinion.

WORLD ORDER

Christian Carloads

If you are looking for a way in which your community can get into the battle of saving from starvation peoples in the depressed areas of the world, here is a plan. It is a Christian project for Americans, the promise of hope for those beyond our shores.

Church World Service¹ offers its facilities to the Churches and community organizations of your county or state in organizing community-wide drives to collect and ship overseas bulk lots of cotton, grain, dairy products, beans or other high-nutrition, nonperishable produce, as well as shoes, bedding, and clothing.

Here Is How YOU Start

1. First visit a leading layman in your own Church,—preferably someone engaged in raising the community's principal crop or manufacturing the principal product.

2. Make a list of about a dozen people you can count on: one from each Church, one from the farm board, the chamber of commerce, the leading newspaper editor, and, of course, someone from your Ministerial Association or Council of Churches.

3. Personally invite them to a meeting to plan for a community project. Ask someone from your nearest Church World Service Center to help with technical problems.

4. Decide if this is to be a town, county, or state-wide project. Consult with your Church leaders, farm agent, and Church World Service Center people on this.

5. Ask the Council of Churches, if you have one, or the Ministerial Association, to constitute you as a CWS Community Service Committee under their sponsorship; set an "opening day"; plan a mass meeting, or the showing of a moving picture on relief, which can be booked through CWS; plan a farm auction for relief.

Decide on a product or commodity which you will collect in quantity—something most of the farm folks raise or in the finished manufacture of which much of the community is engaged. Now think of the stories and pictures of how people eat and live overseas, and multiply your "reasonable expectations" by two. That will give you your "goal," and try to over-subscribe it! Consult with the representative of your CWS center concerning the technical details of handling such bulk shipments.

6. Plan the "opening gun." It may be the special edition of the paper, a special sermon by all pastors on an agreed Sunday, a "relief banquet" (mighty little food) at the leading hotel, a "mailing" of campaign literature to every minister in the state, a mass meeting with refugee and U. S. overseas veteran speakers, or all of these.

7. Appoint your committees. These will depend on your plans, but for the carload collection should usually include: executive planning committee (this is the group now meeting); business and finance; schedule; solicitation; publicity; records; leading; dedication.

Committees should also be appointed for the clothing collection, auction, dinner, and other events as decided upon. Some will require subcommittees.

In some localities youth groups have undertaken the responsibility for door-to-door collections of used clothing on a certain day. Clothing was then worked over by women's groups at the churches or at a community hall to assure its being in suitable condition to send overseas.

8. Pray—that the Lord may strengthen your hands for the task you have undertaken—and then go forth and work in a way that demonstrates that you meant that prayer.

¹ 37 East 36th Street, New York, N. Y.

EXPENDITURES FOR ALCOHOLIC BEVER
FOR EDUCATION, PUBLIC

By

A comparison of our national expenditure for alcoholic beverages with those for social culture in general if this sum were spent for social welfare. On the debit side are not included their use, as shown below:

**Total expenditure for alcoholic beverages in the United States,
1946.¹¹ \$8,770,000,000**

914,919 reported arrests for drunkenness, 1945.¹²

44,832 reported arrests for driving while drunk, 1945.¹³

247,255 reported arrests for disorderly conduct, 1945.¹⁴

21,144 reported arrests for violating liquor laws, 1945.¹⁵

Jail costs for persons committed to jail. In Washington, D.C., this is \$2.50 per day.¹⁶

Court costs for crimes connected with alcohol.

Juvenile delinquency of neglected children, many of whose parents are liquor addicts.¹⁷

Broken homes, due to alcoholism in one or both partners.¹⁸

ONE out of every FOUR fatal accidents in 1945 involved a driver or a pedestrian who had been drinking.¹⁹

In 1946 there were 33,500 deaths from motor vehicle accidents, and over 1,000,000 persons were injured.²⁰

(The Lansing, Mich., Safety Council and the National Conservation Bureau report average cost of traffic accidents per person injured as follows:

Drivers not injured, \$73; drivers injured, \$408; passengers injured, \$206; pedestrians injured, \$468.)

Accidents and injuries in industry due to the use of alcoholic beverages.

Mental disease due to alcohol. First admissions to state, veterans', county and city and private hospitals in 1944, due to alcohol, 8,052. In addition there were 210 alcoholic patients in psychopathic and 5,071 in general hospitals. The average cost of maintenance in state hospitals was \$366.35 per year; in veterans' hospitals, \$860.46 per year; and in the psychopathic hospitals, \$3,056.57 per year.²¹

Venereal disease contracted in connection with the use of alcohol. 7,727 first admissions to state, veterans', county and city, and private mental hospitals in 1944 were due to venereal disease. The average cost of maintenance of these patients was the same as for other mental cases.²²

Diversion of grain, fruit, and other food products to the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, instead of providing food to meet human need.²³

¹ Office of Education, Table 34, 1/8/47. ² Office of Education. ³ Northwestern National Life Insurance Co., Family Economics Bureau, 12/19/46. ⁴ Annual report of the American Red Cross, 1946. ⁵ Annual report of the U. S. Public Health Service, 1946. ⁶ Annual report of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, 1946. ⁷ Department of Commerce, "State Finances, 1945." ⁸ Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1946, pp. 643, 644, 641, 647. ⁹ Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1946, p. 423. ¹⁰ Congressional Record, 5/23/47.

Vance Sheet

TRUSTED WITH EXPENDITURES AND SOCIAL WELFARE

alley

ive purposes shows what a tremendous impetus could be given to education, religion, and sum spent for alcoholic beverages, but the direct and indirect costs and damages due to

Total expenditure in the United States for public and private schools —elementary, secondary, colleges, universities, and professional schools; teachers' colleges and normal schools; schools for delinquents, the blind, the deaf, the mentally deficient; and for Indians, 1943-1944. ¹	\$3,522,007,441
Libraries: public, 1945; public schools, 1942; college and university, 1943-1944. ²	92,679,702
Gifts and bequests to Churches and religious purposes, 1945. ³	1,035,000,000
American Red Cross, 1946 expenditure by 3,754 chapters and 5,578 branches. ⁴	133,273,634
U. S. Public Health Service, 1946 expenditures, including \$6,030,181 for control of tuberculosis and \$11,546,873 for venereal disease. ⁵	122,494,606
National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, expenditure in 1946. ⁶ ..	7,573,715
Expenditures by the 48 states for benefits to their citizens, 1945. ⁷	
Public safety	\$131,260,000
Health	94,412,000
Hospitals and institutions for handicapped	283,918,000
Public welfare	608,277,000
Correction	82,028,000
Recreation	8,906,000
Federal Government grants to state and local units, 1946.	1,208,801,000
Under Federal Security Agency	
Old-age assistance	\$439,132,384
Unemployment compensation	54,546,709
Public health service	24,891,000
Vocational rehabilitation	10,839,002
Training of nurses	37,423,648
Under Department of Labor, maternal and child health, crippled children, and child welfare services....	47,555,907
Under Department of Agriculture.	
School milk and lunch program. ⁸	50,050,478
Veterans' pensions, 1946. ⁹	664,439,129
Aid to Greece and Turkey, 1947, P.L. 75. ¹⁰	1,261,414,607
Total for educational, religious, cultural, and social programs named	\$3,447,683,834

¹¹ Department of Commerce release, 4/30/47. ¹² F.B.I. Bulletin, No. 1, 1946. ¹³ Hearings on Hebert Bill on D.C. Clinics, February and March, 1947. ¹⁴ Massachusetts Special Commission on Child Delinquency, report of Feb. 12, 1947. ¹⁵ National Safety Council, 1946 edition Accident Facts. ¹⁶ New York Times, 6/19/47. ¹⁷ Census Bureau report, "Patients in Mental Institutions, 1944." ¹⁸ Bureau of Internal Revenue, report of 1946.

—From The Voice, August 1947, reprinted in The Clipsheet, September 1, 1947.

Oslo Youth Conference

(Continued from page 11)

ficulties, such actions being taken as a sign of weakness by other delegates. The Marshall Plan was the headline feature of Europe's newspapers during the summer, yet few Americans understood what it was, why it was needed, and how it might work.

We must ask ourselves some very pointed questions about homes and schools which give such limited cultural education that highly qualified youth delegates to an international meeting are unable to stand on their feet to discuss issues with intelligence and with background knowledge. Training for jobs, for specialities, for techniques, for money has made us the best "fixers" of machines to be found on this earth. But training for machine operations is not enough in order to work with people and with power and influence. Having a machine civilization, we educate the memory that it will not fail to shift the lever at the right time. On the whole, our American delegates had plenty of information about Europe, such things as Big Ben, Follies Bergère, canals, fiords, kings, bad plumbing, and the Normandy beachhead. In the pinch they needed that wholeness of education which trains the mind and gives words expression according to the capacity to think through the implications of great questions.

Our Westminster Fellowship work looms far more importantly in a broader way than I ever imagined. Not only must there be support for every effort to increase the understanding of the Christian faith as revealed in the Bible, but we must also by every means possible find and make ways to link this faith with the whole of life. This means the practical multiplication of opportunities and possibilities for our young people to get right out into this world of chaos and conflict. This point of view, this cradling of youth until twenty-one, that youth are not ready

to take serious responsibility until the end of formal education, must give way to experiences of work, of sacrifice, of discussion, and of travel, which both interrupt and test formal education.

The Church can and should help. We now have youth caravans for the most adventurous. Work conferences are another type. There is reconstruction work in this country and abroad. There are travel seminars under the direction of the Boards of Foreign and National Missions. It would be excellent if our Church could find the means to establish student exchanges and short-term missionary service. Local youth groups must break out of the rut of a self-centered activities program for Christian adventure in the world of human misery and conflict. Let students and professors tackle and think through to action some problems that are unconnected with academic necessities.

In Oslo there was keen interest in politics with the French, British, Dutch, Indonesian, Indian, and Chinese delegates indicating the greatest concern. The delegates from Asia were less critical of communism than the Europeans, and they less critical of leftist tendencies than we are. The one American meeting on the political and economic issues of our Puerto Rican and Philippine policies showed how individualistic we are, there being no unity on a significant statement which could have been presented to the Conference on the way Christian Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Filipinos might begin to extend economic democracy to submerged peoples.

There are many things to be said for our American delegates in their generosity, their friendliness, and personal democracy, but for our purposes, right now, we need to examine what others say of us that we may look at ourselves in the shadow caused by our conceits, for we are on top of the world and we are mighty hazy in understanding the role and responsibility God has for our people.

S.E.A. at Grinnell

(Continued from page 13)

a panel of 5 young people discussed the implications of the atomic bomb and the resources of the Christian faith for meeting the present crisis.

Stimulated by the film, both the panel members and many discussants in the audience, revealed a profound sense of the tragic dilemma that confronts mankind and a determination to "discover God's will for our lives and do it."

Each evening the assembly was asked to vote on a "Question for the Day" which had been submitted by the Westminster Fellowship officers. Question for the day on Friday was:

"Resolved: That this Westminster Fellowship National Assembly affirm the action of the 1946 National Council opposing the adoption of peacetime universal military training."

The issue evoked heated discussion. It had been debated in dining halls and dormitories. Seminar leaders had found it difficult, and some tried in vain to keep their groups from digressing to this subject. When the question was formally presented to the assembly, dozens sought to have their say.

The assembly adopted the proposal opposing conscription by a 3-1 majority. Out of 1,404 ballots cast, 1,047 were for affirming the action of 1946 opposing conscription and 357 voted against.

But if the delegates knew what they were against, they also knew what they were for. From their shrunken purses, and with a return trip still in the offing, they contributed \$1,678.83 to a fund for sending heifers overseas.

This report on S.E.A. at Grinnell may convey at least two false impressions. It may imply that nothing else occurred of significance for S.E.A. Nothing could be further from the truth. Christian social action grows out of deep Christian convictions coupled with a realistic and

thoughtful understanding of social problems and our individual involvement. Everything that happened throughout the conference was important for S.E.A., as it was for all Christian discipleship.

This report may also imply that all or most of the delegates went home with a profound sense of the collective sins in our common life, determined to do battle against exploitation, poverty, economic tyranny, imperialism, discrimination, etc., and committed through Christ "to preach good tidings to the poor...proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Unfortunately, not so.

There is in the Church a certain attitude toward young people—a fond hope that surely they are going to be different—which is a form of escapism. We shall avoid some useless sentimentality by remembering that the present adult generation (whose management of the world leaves something to be desired), like every adult generation, were once the young people who were to build a new world.

At Grinnell there was very little of the dogmatic, doctrinaire utopianism which often characterizes youth movements, yielding in due season an abundant harvest of disillusioned reactionaries. That is good. But there was also too little inclination to submit all the institutions of human society to the judgment of Christ.

Westminster Fellowship is a young and growing movement. Its plan of organization provides for the fullest expression of Christian faith in every area of life. It is an integral part of the Church, and thank God for that. But it shares both the strength and weaknesses, both the vigor and the complacency, of the Church. Only God himself, working through leaders of youth across the Church, can guide these young people into a radical devotion to Christ and his purposes in "building today for a Christian world."

About Books

For the Living of These Days, by William H. Elliott, Jr. John Knox Press. \$2.00.

This is a book of good and helpful sermons. Perhaps the outstanding thing to be said about them is that they offer a technique for living the Christian life. How many of us ministers fail at this point! We can paint glowing word pictures of the Christian ideals and goals. But too often we fail to give our congregations help on the problem of how to get from here to there. The Roman Catholic Church offers people a technique. So does Christian Science. But we Protestants have not laid so much emphasis on this as we should. Mr. Elliott, however, is facing this need. In showing people how to deal with one problem after another, he does not offer merely the help of psychology, although his psychology is sound. Rather, he points out in clear and practical manner, how men may secure the resources that God has made available through Christ. And he does this with splendid illustrations from the Bible, from current literature, and from daily life.

T. GUTHRIE SPEERS

It So Happened, by Muriel Lester. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$2.00.

This is the second little book by Miss Lester recording her thoughts while she served as ambassador-at-large of world peace. The first, *It Occurred to Me*, left off Christmas Day, 1937. This second book carries on through the war years. The book is written in an intimate style. You feel at home with the writer. Her keen insights, fine humor, a boundless faith in God are most stimulating. Muriel Lester is a poet with an eye for the beauty of God's world and a pen that can pass that beauty on to others. The book is filled with touches of nature put into words

that paint vivid and delightful pictures.

Most of all, the book is rewarding for the author's interpretation of persons and events. In the space of a few pages, for instance, are paragraphs giving word pictures of Stanley Jones, George Lansbury, Nevin Sayre, President and Mrs. Hutchins of Berea College, Joy Homer, and Allan Hunter. Others appear through the book. It is with events, however, that Miss Lester is chiefly concerned. Many of us remember her visits to America and enjoy her account of meetings and conferences we shared with her. We can well profit by her interpretation of the faith many Germans had in Hitler. She records their reactions in three weeks spent in Germany in 1938. Through her sympathetic spirit we can meet Jews in Vienna under Hitler's persecution, people in Prague who "wanted to be unnoticeable, to pretend they were not there," a follower of Gandhi, who had been told by an English missionary that her saintly mother, recently dead, was in hell, and many incidents giving insight into Gandhi's work and character. The Madras Conference appears in a new light as Miss Lester tries to bring the reactions of a Rajaji, not exceptional, who insisted that since the papers called it a missionary conference it was another form of unwholesome exploitation, not a meeting of world Christians. The most interesting part of the book deals with Miss Lester's arrest, a near two months' stay in a British internment camp, and her release. The fact of her being investigated and detained is testimony of the quality of our civilization.

JOHN C. WHITE

The World's Great Madonnas, by Cynthia Pearl Maus. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$4.95.

This, like all anthologies, is not a book

to be read and put aside but rather a book of reference. But because of the universal interest of its subject and the variety and scope of the material included in its nearly 800 pages, this book should be kept close at hand in the Church library or office for frequent consultation, for inspiration, and as a generous source of program material for group leaders.

The subject is the madonna and the holy Child during the period from the Annunciation to the return of the holy family to Nazareth. The material assembled by the compiler includes not only reproductions of paintings and sculpture, ancient and modern, portraying the Annunciation, the nativity, the flight to Egypt and the return to Nazareth, but also poetry and music, legend and story.

Miss Maus has dedicated her work to "international and interracial understanding and good will," and in her introduction suggests ways in which the anthology may be used toward that end in programs of many kinds. To make the materials most readily available the anthology is arranged according to the continental and national sources. Europe: England, Italy, France, Spain, and so forth; Asia: China, Japan, India; North America: Canada, United States, Mexico, and so on. Then under each country are presented works of its own artists: reproductions of paintings, sculpture, wood carvings, and so forth, with interpretations; poetry and music; carols, hymns, folk songs, with interpretations; and finally stories and legends.

Here is a source book that every group in the Church will find helpful not only at Christmas but throughout the year. For as the compiler reminds us, peace will come only as men and women everywhere increasingly realize and accept the truth that "God hath made of one blood all the races of men that dwell upon the earth" and to practice that truth in every contact and human relationship.

ELsie G. RODGERS

Black Fountains, by Oswald Wynd. Doubleday & Company, Inc. \$2.75.

"It is my belief that a 'Resistance in Peace' organization exists in Japan today and that it may gain increasing power behind that surface acquiescence to democratic ideas which is a reaction to defeat." With these words in the preface to his *Black Fountains*, the winner of the Doubleday \$20,000 Prize Novel Award, Oswald Wynd gives us the setting for the final scene in his dramatic novel of Japan between autumn of 1938 and the beginning of the American occupation in 1945.

Few men have had the opportunity to know Japan as Mr. Wynd. Born in Tokyo of Scottish parents, he lived in Japan till his eighteenth year and was at one time a holder of dual citizenship, British and Japanese. He speaks and evidently reads the Japanese language. As an officer in the British Intelligence, he was captured by the Japanese forces in 1942, and after eighteen months in Malaya was sent to Japan. His knowledge of the language enabled him to profit uniquely from the opportunities he had for brief talks with Japanese during those later months of the war with all their increasing suffering and anxiety within Japan.

This reviewer has seen no account so full and accurate of the feelings of one class within Japan at that time. He himself had opportunities to question Japanese friends about those days, and he can cite one family in North Kamakura as having exhibited within itself almost all the varieties of reaction that Mr. Wynd paints before us.

The book is particularly concerned with the nature and effect of the mystical, religious nationalism that has been such a terrible danger to Christian democrats across the world in our generation. The author has a keen insight into the subtleties of that mind and spirit which is quite evidently born of intimate personal acquaintance.

The leading character is a Japanese girl

of high social and financial position—all the main characters are "upper class"—who returns to Japan in 1938 after college in America. She was Americanized, more in the sense of freedom than of self-control, by this experience and came back to find a Japan that had been moving in precisely the opposite direction to what her own higher education had led her. Her experiences and reactions, however, seem to be the vehicle for expressing the author's own. They form indeed a most acute observation and analysis of Japanese life as viewed through Western eyes.

From this point the story moves on with increasing intensity toward the final conflict set in the early days of the American occupation. Yet the heroes are not the Americans. The struggle for a way of life other than the mystical nationalism is made by Japanese; the conflict is between Japanese. The author believes "there has always been in Japan a small nucleus of people who were capable of maintaining their concepts of human decency and justice and who bore these convictions openly to the very threshold of death." The reviewer can second this conviction from his own experience.

One misses in this novel of contemporary Japan a character of high spiritual beauty and strength in the Christian sense. There are such in Japan. But Oswald Wynd makes unforgettable clear that the Japanese heart is poignantly and understandably human.

RICHARD H. DRUMMOND

Where the New World Begins, by James Reid. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$2.00.

Dr. James Reid, retired from the pastorate of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Eastbourne, England, has come to be known as a preacher and writer of great power. Each of his books has been widely read and acclaimed.

This present volume consists of fifty-four brief Scriptural interpretations—

sermons in miniature. While they cover a wide range of topics, the underlying theme is that "the new age is ready to come into being within us. If we open our hearts to God's rule in Christ, the Kingdom comes." Dr. Reid outlines the ideals, motives, and desires that must be implanted if the "new world" is to come into reality. Here is a guide to inspirational living and high devotion. These meditations will suggest many sermons to ministers, and will be helpful also for devotional reading.

The chapters of the book appeared as devotional articles in *The British Weekly*. These meditations doubtless are abbreviated sermons Dr. Reid preached during the war years, and there is hope, courage, and vision of high order here. Dr. Reid has a keen sense of the social changes that must be made if the new world is to come. "We must get rid of the barriers within the heart, the prejudice and superiority that blind us to our brotherhood as God's children" (page 47). The chapter on "Christ and the Common Man" pleads that the Church will become more aware of the needs of the "common man."

This is a refreshing and stimulating book that deserves a wide reading.

GORDON W. MATTICE

Correction—In the October issue, p. 31, the first sentence of the first paragraph in the right-hand column should have read: "The effect of the campaign to escheat the property of persons of Japanese ancestry has been to place a cloud on the title of such real property so that title insurance companies refuse to insure, thereby complicating the disposal of the land."

Taking Legislative Action—A single sheet listing the chairmen of Senate and House committees and giving suggestions for those who want to take legislative action on current social issues. Order from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. Free in limited quantities.

Washington Witness on Peacetime Training

*By A. A. Bates **

Dr. Bates: I have no prepared statement, but I wish merely to recite a fairly extensive sequence of personal experiences in many countries, at least a score or more in which conscription and universal military training have been the consistent policy of those countries.

I was in Knoxville on the morning of September 1. I picked up a copy of the *Knoxville News Sentinel*, which had the startling headline, "War, Hitler Drives Into Poland." We all knew that the Second World War was under way. We who had remembered the First World War and had suffered family casualties from it dreaded the inevitable outcome. However, there were reassurances. For example, on the second page of this paper, there was this item:

Every able-bodied man in Poland between the ages of eighteen and forty was under arms. Poland has an army of 4,000,000, and although it has possibly less armament than Germany it has more men in the field and there are plenty of rifles and bullets for all.

I know most of the countries of Europe rather intimately. I had seen this universal military training in many countries, including Poland and France.

Here, in the September 4, 1939, issue of *The Baltimore Sun*, we read that 8,000,000 French boys are off to war. I had seen the two or three years' military training to which those French boys had been subjected—military training which was devised and planned by the French General Staff: Foch, Petain, Gamelin, Weygand—the generals who had won World War I. I lived in France for several years, during which there was a heated debate going on, a debate in which on one side was found, of course, the War Department of France, all of the military forces, most of the French Legionnaires, and most of the French newspapers. That debate was exactly on the same subject that you have before you today: What shall we do to prepare most effectively the defense of the country?

The military said: We must have two things—a great line of fortifications along the French-German border and universal military training for every French boy. I was over there on technical missions. I am an engineer. Most of my engineering and scientific friends pointed to the developments of the First World War: the airplane, the German long-range gun, and so on, and said, "We don't think this plan of training mass armies of boys is going to be of much

* Statement of Dr. A. A. Bates, Vice-President, Portland Cement Co., Chicago. Reprinted from Subcommittee Hearings on Universal Military Training (*H. R. 4121*), July 14, 1947.

consequence"; and, "We don't think your line of forts sunk in the ground are going to be of much consequence in the next war."

Nevertheless, the French War Department and the generals who won World War I, with the aid of a vast newspaper campaign, won out, and France put her billions of francs and her millions and millions of boy years into universal military training and the Maginot Line.

I knew of these 8,000,000 boys in France. I knew of the twelve or fourteen or fifteen million in Russia. I knew of the millions in Belgium, Holland, and elsewhere.

In every country the war department assured the citizens of that country that this was a program for peace, and this was a program that would prevent war, exactly as President Truman a few weeks ago assured the country that UMT was a program to prevent war. Universal military training has been the order in practically all of Europe for a century or a century and a half, and you know well how much it has prevented war in those countries.

As a rather interesting climax to the campaign of the war departments of France and other countries over there to assure the continuation of conscription or universal military training—they are effectively one and the same thing—was a book published in 1938 by the French War Department. That book assured the French people that now that they

had universal military training and their Maginot Line they were forever immune to invasion by Germany or other countries. In 1938, that promise was made on the basis of universal military training.

In late 1944 I was called into a secret military operation and went to the European theater of operations. I was with all the French armies, with all the American armies, and the British armies. I saw every front. I was there throughout the entire campaign against Germany. I saw the French universal-military-trained boys. Most of them I saw in places like Buchenwald and Dachau, where they had been helplessly herded. I saw the French Maginot Line from end to end. It was untouched, unscratched. It was as futile as was the universal military training.

The paper of September 1, 1939, announced that Poland was ready with 4,000,000, and that France was ready with 8,000,000, and so on. On September 24, 1939—twenty-three days after the beginning of the war—*The New York Times* carried the following dispatch from Europe: "German soldiers, the great battle of Poland is finished. The Polish Army is annihilated. The operations against Poland are concluded."

The War Department tells us that universal military training will shorten war. It did, indeed, shorten war for Poland. By putting all of her

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Gambling in Esse

*By Richard Paul Graebel **

GAMBLING becomes sinful, Catholic moralists declare, if a person is forced to play against his will, if fraud is employed, if the money at stake does not belong to the one betting, or if the money used is required for personal debts or for the support of the bettor's family, and so forth. If gambling were intrinsically evil, then would it not be more reprehensible to cast lots in such an awesomely important matter as the selection of an apostle (Acts 1:26) than to cast them in a bunko game for a mere dime?"

So runs a published letter written by one of the minor bishops of the Roman Church and addressed to a Protestant minister who was being used in this instance as a sounding board and the "enemy outside our gates."

Nothing could better illustrate the difference between that Protestant morality which seeks to apply the mind of Christ to the relationships of men and that Roman Catholic morality which seeks to justify its methods and expedients.

What's that again? "Gambling becomes sinful if fraud is employed?" Far be it from me to say that fraud enters into what is fraud from its very inception! One is re-

minded of the Federal judge who had a case before him wherein two youngsters were arrested for making counterfeit quarters to play in slot machines. The police arrested the youngsters as counterfeiters but left the slot machines and their operators free to continue their fraudulent practices. The judge gave the boys a suspended sentence and sent the police back to arrest the operators, confiscating the machines!

What's that again? "Gambling is wrong if the money at stake does not belong to the one betting, or if the money used is required for personal debts or for the support of the bettor's family, and so forth."

How can an institution which teaches that man is the child of God, that all man has is given him as a trust from God for which he shall be held responsible, that man is his brother's keeper, that we are not our own but have been bought with a price—how can an institution which includes in its teaching such religious truth as this, give to gambling even an inch of justification?

To suggest that the incident in the book of The Acts of the apostles (where the choice between Justus and Matthias is made by drawing straws and is preceded by intercessory prayer for guidance) is in any

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Illinois.

way related to the gambling lotteries of our day or justifies their use by moral persons is to miss the capital point: there was no betting; there was no risk; there was no selfishness, no gain or loss in terms of possession. Logically, we might suggest that Justus and Matthias were here "forced to play against their will." At the same time, I am reminded of the English lady, living in Holborn in 1767 when England was experiencing years of lotteries which hard experience caused her to outlaw. On Sunday, preceding the drawing, this lady's success was prayed for in the parish Church in this form: "The prayers of this congregation are desired for the success of a person engaged in a new undertaking." She didn't win, a saloonkeeper did!

Hardly a session of Congress goes by without someone suggesting that the time has come for the Federal Government to cash in on the gambling craze that pours billions of dollars into the pockets of racketeers in our society every year. Encouraged by such moralizings as those of the Roman bishop, and ignorant of history or economics, Congressmen are prone to pass enabling legislation of this sort. A brief look at the history of lotteries in England might not be amiss.

It was under the reign of Queen Elizabeth that lotteries were introduced into England on January 11, 1569. They continued with but brief interruption until the year 1826

when the last of this "long series of legalized swindles" was concluded. Commenting on the matter, Richard Chambers writes: "It seems strange that so glaringly immoral a project should have been kept up with such sanction so long. The younger people at the present day [1883] may be at a loss to believe that, in the days of their fathers, there were large and imposing offices in London, and pretentious agencies in the provinces, for the sale of lottery tickets."

Under pretense of aiding the poor, gambling and lotteries of various kinds endeavor to cloak themselves in the garb of morality. Benevolent and fraternal organizations fleece their members and less-willing friends for "shoes for the children," "glasses for the nearsighted," "milk funds," and incidentally to build a new bowling alley or pay off the mortgage on the clubhouse. In one city, officers of one of the fraternal clubs frankly stated that unless slot machines were permitted in the clubhouse, they would be compelled to cancel plans for a larger building. Country club officers in another city made the same statement. Henry Fielding, the novelist, pointed up the public stupidity in a farce he produced in Drury Lane Theater in 1731, a play that must have been the ancestor of *Three Men on a Horse* which had such a riotous reception a few years ago. Pamphlets and satires helped to kill lotteries in England:

husbands were to be raffled off in a lottery for ladies, the first prize being a man with a coach-and-six for a five-pound ticket. Less desirable husbands were available as second and third prizes. Addison and Steele published some of their best satires on lotteries in *The Spectator*, and one writer in that excellent journal in 1711 relates: "I have been told of a certain zealous dissenter, who, being a great enemy of popery, and believing that bad men are the most fortunate in this world, will lay two to one on the number 666 against any other number; because, he says, it is the number of the beast." In more recent years, 666 has been attached by numerological machinations to Kaiser Wilhelm, Stalin, Hitler, and the NRA!

As in English history, so in our own, "lotteries, by creating illusive hopes, and supplanting steady industry, wrought immense mischief. Shopmen robbed their masters, servant girls their mistresses, friends borrowed from each other under false pretenses, and husbands stinted their wives and children of necessities—all to raise the means for buy-

ing a portion or the whole of a lottery ticket."

The fundamental philosophy of the gambler is opposed to the fundamental philosophy of our economic life. If "getting something for nothing," or by luck, or by chance, is to govern our economic life, industry and effort and honesty and diligence suffer proportionately.

All of this leads us to the fact that we need to do some long thinking on this whole subject on which there is no meeting of minds between Roman Catholic moralists and Protestant Christians who are trying to take Jesus seriously in human relations. Our liberties and our freedom owe more, as de Unamuno suggests, "to the Puritans than to the libertines." It is better to be caught off balance from bending over backwards than to be caught falling on one's face from bowing low before the golden calf. It is highly improbable that the Roman Catholic novelist, Harry Sylvester, will write a history of his Church in America, calling it *Under the Bingo Banners*, but the fact that he even suggests it might happen is highly important!

For every dollar which organized gambling contributes to a city it takes away many dollars in the form of lost private income; reduced sales and increased credit losses for merchants; and higher expenditures for courts, jails, asylums, and all the other institutions and agencies of law enforcement and public care.

—*The Pittsburgh Press*, October 12, 1947.

Atomic Energy Is Your Business

*By David E. Lilienthal**

THREE is a growing tendency in some quarters to act as if atomic energy were none of the American public's business.

It isn't said in just those words, of course. It is put more discreetly. It is said that the subject is too "technical" for public discussion—or that "national security" requires that the public be kept in the dark, even on discussions of broad policy—or that the steps that need to be considered are such strong meat that all these matters must be withheld from the public. It is said, in support of this practice, that it was followed successfully in wartime, and hence should be continued to-day.

In my opinion this is plain nonsense, and dangerous nonsense, dangerous to cherished American institutions and for that reason dangerous to genuine national security. And if I sound belligerent it is because on this issue I am in a fighting mood. I have come back home to Indiana to say so, as emphatically as I can.

I say to you that atomic energy and scientific discoveries have not and need not change the fundamental principles of democracy, which rest

upon faith in the ultimate wisdom of the people, when they have been truthfully and clearly informed of the essential facts. This principle and this faith form the basis of the law establishing the civilian Atomic Energy Commission. If the people of this country want that principle and that policy to be made effective—the policy that it is *they* who decide their future and their fate—that is the policy that will prevail.

I propose tonight to suggest a specific program whereby here in Crawfordsville and in all other American communities the people on their own can set about to learn the essential facts about atomic energy. I make this proposal so that in the months and crucial years ahead it can continue to be said as it has in the past that the glory of the American system is that the common-sense judgment of the people as a whole determines the course of the republic.

What do you think of when you think of atomic energy? The chances are that you think only of the atomic bomb. This is natural enough. You have been fed a publicity diet of almost nothing else but horror stories since the blast at Hiroshima two years ago. Some people are warning you to get ready to move into caves. Others are actually pro-

* Chairman, United States Atomic Energy Commission. Address before a Community Public Meeting, Crawfordsville, Indiana. Used with permission.

posing, as a defense measure, that we prepare to turn the life of the country over to military control; and other such proposals are being urged. It is a tribute to the American people's horse sense that they have kept their shirts on through all of this. You are troubled, of course, concerned, uneasy—and you should be. The atomic weapon is real. I live with it, day and night, and I assure you that, however fantastic, it is plenty real. But scaring the day-lights out of everyone so no one can think, inducing hysteria and unreasoning fear—this is not going to get us anywhere—anywhere we want to go.

I suppose there is nothing of a physical nature that is more friendly to man, or more necessary to his well-being than the sun. From the sun you and I get every bit of our energy, the—chemical energy—energy that gives life and sustains life, the energy that builds skyscrapers, and churches, that writes poems and symphonies. The life-giving sun is itself a huge atomic energy factory. The energy the sun pours forth—that energy has its origin in a process within the sun by which there is released for our benefit the forces within the atomic nucleus, within the atom of the familiar substance known as hydrogen. The sun, I repeat, is an atomic energy plant.

The forces, then, within the atom are not new. Far from it. Without

the atomic energy released by the sun, this country would be a lifeless crater.

What is new is this: that in our day, our generation, knowledge has so increased that we are now actually on the long road to understanding atomic energy and making it serve men's needs.

These atomic forces are still not well understood by even the most learned scientists. But here are two towering facts of greatest importance to every living human being the world over:

First, mankind has probably learned more in the past thirty years about atomic forces than in all the preceding centuries.

In the second place, within the next few years—a decade, perhaps—we should be in a position to unlock new knowledge about life and matter so great that wholly new concepts of human life will follow this new knowledge.

Just as the sun is fundamental to human life, so are the forces within the atom. It is our fortune, yours and mine, and that of our children, to live in that fragment of historical time when knowledge of the very foundation of life may be opened to human understanding.

Let me repeat, atomic science and atomic bombs are not synonymous. That is why I have spoken to you about the sun. The atomic bomb is just one manifestation of atomic energy; the energy in the rays of

the sun is another. One is destructive; the other, benign and a source of life and strength.

I had another purpose in beginning with the sun. I wanted to make plain that what we are dealing with in the forces of the atomic nucleus are fundamental, basic, and have an effect on everyone's life, as do the nuclear transformations within the sun. Atomic energy is not just another new gadget, nor just a new weapon, however powerful and devastating. We are dealing with forces as fundamental to your life as the force of the sun, the forces of gravity, the forces of magnetism.

Such new knowledge inevitably brings changes. These are changes that will affect you and yours, in your life here in this community. Some of these changes are in process at this moment. Thus the atomic weapon has changed the relations between nations and the problem of the maintenance of peace—and nothing could be closer to your life and that of your children than that. Atomic energy has already brought changes in the treatment of human suffering, and is at this moment adding to knowledge to be used in fighting cancer, heart ailments, and many other diseases.

Radioactive materials from the Commission's plant at Oak Ridge are throwing a clear light upon some of the oldest mysteries of life. For example, how does a stalk of growing corn use the rays of the sun to

manufacture its products into energy-giving food substances? How does a plant absorb fertilizer from the soil, and just what happens within the plant? Much progress has already been made through the availability of these radioactive tracers. It is fair to say that the entire investment in the atomic energy project—now nearly two and a half billion dollars—may be more than repaid by the benefits to agriculture and to human nutrition alone. Atomic treatment of familiar metals, and new knowledge of little-known metals, opens up great prospects in industry. At Commission laboratories work proceeds so that someday the energy released by the splitting of the atoms of uranium and plutonium will provide a new source of electricity and heat. New professions for your young people, new hope for the afflicted, new understanding of how science can serve for peace—these are on the agenda of the present and immediate future.

But these things—and many others I might mention—are but a beginning. The door of knowledge is but barely opened. No one can predict just what changes will come of knowledge that goes to the root of all things physical. For bear in mind that every living being is composed of atoms, and the nuclear forces we are talking about are within each of these atoms. Remember too that every bit of matter, this desk, the

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*Recommendations of President's Committee on Civil Rights**

IN THE report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, released on October 29, 1947, the following five reasons were listed for urging that the Federal Government be given new and broader powers to protect the rights of minorities:

Many of the most serious wrongs—such as lynchings—are committed by private persons or local law enforcement officers.

The "idealism and prestige of our whole people" should check the "wayward tendencies" of a few.

Our civil rights record has "growing international implications" and is the subject of world discussion.

The people have shown a "persistent and deep-felt desire" for national action to safeguard individual rights.

The national Government is the largest employer of labor, it runs the armed forces, and it controls the District of Columbia. It should "set a model" for other employers and for lesser agencies.

The recommendations follow:

I. To strengthen the machinery for the protection of civil rights:

1. The reorganization of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice to provide for:

The establishment of regional offices;

A substantial increase in its appropriation and staff to enable it to engage in more extensive research and to act more effectively to prevent civil rights violations;

An increase in investigative action in the absence of complaint;

The greater use of civil sanctions; Its elevation to the status of a full division in the Department of Justice.

2. The establishment within the FBI of a special unit of investigators trained in civil rights work.

3. The establishment by the state Governments of law enforcement agencies comparable to the Federal Civil Rights Section.

4. The establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President, preferably by Act of Congress;

And the simultaneous creation of a Joint Standing Committee on Civil Rights in Congress.

5. The establishment by the states of permanent commissions on civil rights to parallel the work of the Federal commission at the state level.

6. The increased professionalization of state and local police forces.

* Reprinted from *PM*, October 30, 1947. Used with permission.

II. To strengthen the right to safety and security of the person:

1. The enactment by Congress of new legislation to supplement Section 51 of Title 18 of the United States Code which would impose the same liability on one person as is now imposed by that statute on two or more conspirators.
2. The amendment of Section 51 to remove the penalty provision which disqualifies persons convicted under the act from holding public office.
3. The amendment of Section 52 to increase the maximum penalties that may be imposed under it from \$1,000 fine and a one-year prison term to a \$5,000 fine and a 10-year prison term, thus bringing its penalty provisions into line with those in Section 51.
4. The enactment by Congress of a new statute, to supplement Section 52, specifically directed against police brutality and related crimes.
5. The enactment by Congress of an antilynching act.
6. The enactment by Congress of a new criminal statute on involuntary servitude, supplementing Sections 443 and 444 of Title 18 of the United States Code.
7. A review of our wartime evacuation and detention experience, looking toward the development of a policy that will prevent the abridgment of civil rights of any person or groups because of race or ancestry.

8. Enactment by Congress of legislation establishing a procedure by which claims of évacués for specific property and business losses resulting from the wartime evacuation can be promptly considered and settled.

III. To strengthen the right to citizenship and its privileges:

1. Action by the states or Congress to end poll taxes as a voting prerequisite.
2. The enactment by Congress of a statute protecting the right of qualified persons to participate in Federal primaries and elections against interference by public officers and private persons.
3. The enactment by Congress of a statute protecting the right to qualify for, or participate in, Federal or state primaries or elections against discriminatory action by state officers based on race or color, or depending on any other unreasonable classification of persons for voting purposes.
4. The enactment by Congress of legislation establishing local self-government for the District of Columbia; and the amendment of the Constitution to extend suffrage in presidential elections, and representation in Congress to District residents.
5. The granting of suffrage by the States of New Mexico and of Arizona to their Indian citizens.
6. The modification of the Federal naturalization laws to permit the

granting of citizenship without regard to the race, color, or national origin of applicants.

7. The repeal by the states of laws discriminating against aliens who are ineligible for citizenship because of race, color, or national origin.

8. The enactment by Congress of legislation granting citizenship to the people of Guam and American Samoa.

9. The enactment by Congress of legislation, followed by appropriate administrative action, to end immediately all discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the organization and activities of all branches of the armed services.

10. The enactment by Congress of legislation providing that no member of the armed forces shall be subject to discrimination of any kind by any public authority or place of public accommodation, recreation, transportation, or other service or business.

IV. To strengthen the right to freedom of conscience and expression:

1. The enactment by Congress and the state legislatures of legislation requiring all groups, which attempt to influence public opinion, to disclose the pertinent facts about themselves through systematic registration procedures.

2. Action by Congress and the executive branch of clarifying the

loyalty obligations of Federal employees, and establishing standards and procedures by which the civil rights of public workers may be scrupulously maintained.

V. To strengthen the right to equality of opportunity:

1. In general:

The elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life. The conditioning by Congress of all Federal grant-in-aid and other forms of Federal assistance to public or private agencies for any purpose on the absence of discrimination and segregation based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

2. For employment:

The enactment of a Federal Fair Employment Practice Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment, based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

The enactment by the states of similar laws;

The enactment of a Federal mandate against discrimination in Government employment and the creation of adequate machinery to enforce this mandate.

3. For education:

Enactment by the state legislatures of fair educational practice laws for public and private educational institutions, prohibiting

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The Ultimate Solution to the Alcohol Problem

*By Seward Hiltner **

THE General Assembly in 1946 adopted a comprehensive statement on alcohol which was published, with a commentary and study guide, by the Board of Christian Education under the title *Let's Face the Issue*. I continue to believe that the statement and the publication are the most comprehensive, realistic, clearest, most intelligent treatises on alcohol ever issued by any Church body. I understand that the publication has been generally well received, but that some of the well-receivers are not using it widely in their Churches, and that there is a minority of non-well-wishers who criticize it as being inadequate.

Assuming it to be true that some who approve the General Assembly's program are nevertheless delinquent in action, and that others criticize the program as insufficient or too gradual, both these responses merit analysis. Why do some people who like it not act upon it, and why do others believe it insufficiently concerned with ultimates? Indeed, what place does the consideration of ultimates have in our thought and action about the alcohol problem?

It is probable that nearly all of us who read this magazine share

one temptation—we tend to resent the fact that there is an alcohol problem. If we could just wake up tomorrow morning and find that Ethyl and all her works had disappeared from the face of the earth, we should be pleased. Though this is only a fantasy view of the ultimate solution, I suspect it has intrigued us all at one time or another. The difficulty comes not out of our having such a dream, but out of the residue which the dream leaves with us after we have consciously put it aside.

If the residue of the dream is with us, then we are likely to feel sick and tired of the whole alcohol business. Several reactions may follow. We may deny, for all purposes of practical action, that there is a real problem deserving attention. Or we may put on our dragon-slaying suits and sally forth, not to make the dragon really dead (for in our heads we know such methods will not accomplish that), but to show that our intentions are in the right place. Without realizing what has happened, we may become bitter that any problem exists, resentful that we should have to be bothered with it.

And so, unless we have checked our feelings carefully, we may find ourselves publicly resenting this or that about alcohol (hence not pro-

* Executive Secretary, Department of Pastoral Services, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

ceeding with steps in the direction of a solution), or acting as if there were no problem except on those occasions when it is forced upon our attention. These are natural and human reactions. The trouble is that they fail to get us anywhere toward the ultimate solution.

A mood dominated by resentment can summon only fellow resenters. The motivation is negative, and unconvincing to the bleachers—the vast army of people who, whether they drink or not, have not made up their mind about the alcohol problem. Resentment is an especially ineffective mood in a society where the mores of drinking have been flattening out over larger sections of the population (drinking begins younger, more women drink, and so forth) from year to year. For resentment, however righteous, easily becomes not a concern for the solution of the problem, but a kind of escape from it by divorcing oneself from it. If one is mainly a resenter, he is not—despite his own ideas in the matter—really concerned with an ultimate solution, but only with clearing his conscience that alcohol just should not exist. An attitude merely or mainly resenting the fact of war would be plainly self-defeating in solving the problem of war. The same is true of alcohol.

On the other hand, what of those who nod their heads at a step-by-step approach to solving the alcohol problem, but who fail to follow the

steps in action? Unfortunately, what they may be nodding their heads to is the merely negative fact that solution is not proposed at one fell swoop. They may not be at all interested in the arduous procedures of the step-by-step process itself. So that their feeling too is negative—with withdrawal from any possible tainting with the problem or anything connected with it.

So—astonishingly enough—psychologically the receptive-but-not-acting group and the resenting-as-inadequate group are blood brothers. Both are more interested in wishing the problem did not exist than in making efforts to solve it. One appears to be wary of an ultimate solution, and the other to be preoccupied with it. Actually, neither is looking outside at the external situation—either step-by-step or ultimate—but is focusing unknowingly on an inner problem, to get rid of the disturbing fact that the complex alcohol problem exists.

In my view, it is as impossible to be interested in step-by-step approaches to the alcohol problem and yet be uninterested in ultimate solutions as it is to be interested in ultimate solutions but have no concern for step-by-step procedures. Where either one is missing, the other is not really present either, except on the basis described above.

For action of the present, the step-by-step approach of the General As-

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Another Kind of Christmas

*By Katharine F. Lenroot **

THIS is the third Christmas after the war. That first Christmas we can imagine that people in the war-ruined countries said to one another, hopefully: "Next year we'll have a fine Christmas, like we used to. The children don't even know what Christmas means. They've never known anything but war. We'll make it up to them with a fine Christmas."

There was another Christmas, and now there is still another, and they have still not had that fine Christmas. We can try to put ourselves in their place and to think what it would be like in a cold, cheerless room with one's children hungry. And the winter has only begun. The worst of it lies ahead. How it is to be lived through, no one knows.

That is the bleak prospect, not for thousands, but for millions of families. Conservative estimates are that at least 60,000,000 children in Europe and parts of the Far East are in great need. Many will not get through the winter unless help is got to them. Many, many more will be brought to the border line, for they are starting the winter without reserves of strength.

Infant mortality rates which tell much of the story are incredibly

high. In parts of Rumania last winter more than half the babies died. In this country the highest rate in any state is one out of ten, as compared with a national rate of less than four deaths out of a hundred live births. In Czechoslovakia, though, the national rate is higher than our worst state rate, and Czechoslovakia is not the country that is the worst off.

The children who survive are frail and wan. They look younger than they are because they are so small, but in other ways they seem very old. They are listless and apathetic and tired: the psychonervous resistance of great numbers, at least forty per cent in some instances, has been greatly lowered.

When vitality is at such a low ebb, disease takes hold. In Poland, thirty per cent of the young children have rickets, a disease of malnourishment. Tuberculosis is taking great numbers in all the war-devastated countries, and in some places it is now appearing in an open pulmonary form which was unknown before the war. Adolescents are especially vulnerable, as is true anytime, anywhere, but more so when boys and girls reach those critical years far below par, as is true of millions now. The good food, the warm clothing, the pleasant surroundings, and the rest they need are not to be had. Instead,

* Chief, U. S. Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration; Federal Security Agency; member of Executive Board, International Children's Emergency Fund.

the sick and the well live crowded together in makeshift quarters with no protection possible. Venereal disease too has greatly increased among the whole population, and many of the children are infected.

These are the children, the children who, to borrow a phrase, are living in a world they never made, a world made for them by war and fear of war. It is a world in which the virtues we seek to instill in children have little place. To lie, to cheat, and to steal are ways of survival, not acts to be punished.

He may have a family, but he sees terrible things happen within that family in the struggle to survive. He may, on the other hand, be one of Europe's homeless children with all his people gone. In Poland alone, 60,000 homeless children are roaming the streets, and 200,000 are registered as missing. More than a million are orphans or half-orphans. Yugoslavia has a third of a million destitute children for whom something must be done. Italy has a quarter of a million in institutions. So the figures go, bad enough in themselves but made worse by the fact that these countries have so little in the way of services to offer these children who have no one to look after them. Many children's institutions were destroyed in the war; those that are left are overcrowded and understaffed and often on short rations.

This picture of what is happening to Europe's children is drawn from

Government reports laid before the Executive Board of the International Children's Emergency Fund of the United Nations at a meeting in Paris in late summer. We attempted there to assay the need and to consider how that need might best be met with the limited resources available to us.

The tragic fact is this: we are talking about getting some little food through the Children's Fund to almost four million children for the stretch of the winter, but we know that 30,000,000 at a very minimum in Europe and at least an equal number in China are hungry and will remain so for months to come. The drought in Europe has ruined all prospects that it would be otherwise there.

The hopeful fact is this: there are indications that the peoples of the world are going to act on behalf of these children. A world-wide campaign—the United Nations Appeal for Children—is being launched to raise millions of dollars for the Children's Fund for food and other supplies. In this country that appeal will be made as part of the American Overseas Aid drive, scheduled for February.

Everywhere, individuals and organizations, in small ways and large, are sending food and clothing and other supplies. Here in Washington, on Halloween, or Beggar's Night, groups of children went from door to door collecting food packages for

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Washington Witness on Peacetime Training

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faith in that ancient militarily irrelevant political racket—the most vicious and the most corruptive political racket that has ever come out of Europe—Poland precluded the possibility of any real defense.

On April 9, the Nazi armies went into Denmark and Norway. Denmark fell in one day. Denmark had universal military training. Norway fell in a couple of weeks. Norway had universal military training. In both countries the people had been assured that this was a program that would prevent war for their country.

On May 10, the German armies went into Belgium and Holland. Holland fell in a couple of days. Belgium fell in five days. All of northern France fell in six days. And 600,000 British troops were pushed into the sea at Dunkirk. These millions of compulsorily military-trained boys of western Europe had been utterly helpless in modern war.

Then came an amazing historical event. After all of western Europe, with its compulsorily military-trained boys, had fallen almost without combat, then Hitler went after England. Early in November, 1940, began the bombing of London, Coventry, and so on. For three months Hitler kept it up, and day after day the German losses compared with the British were three to one, five to one, or ten to one. The British fire power was as effective at night as it was in day and as effective in cloud as it was in sunlight. We know now what the secret of that was.

It was a little gadget of glass, brass, and tungsten, called a magnetron, which was the heart of what we now call radar. It was the great secret of the war at that day. A little group of scientists, had produced this radar, which did what the tens of millions of European continental compulsorily military-trained boys had been unable to do. They defeated

the Nazi hordes, and England was saved.

I wonder, if we come to a serious evaluation of contribution to the victory in the war which ultimately came, to whom will go the greater credit: the dozen or more scientists who with this gadget, if you please, defeated Germany, or the 10,000,000 or more compulsorily military-trained boys who went down in a few days or a few weeks to complete defeat.

The same thing was true in Russia. Russia, with 15,000,000 or 18,000,000 men and with three or four years, or five years, of compulsory military training, was thrown back in six months 500 miles along a thousand-mile front, when the Nazis went in on June 22 to Russia, and in a year they were thrown back a thousand miles. All their millions—their hordes—were useless.

Then, in November, 1942, came the real turning point of the war. An armada, greater than any in all history, went into Africa—an armada of American ships, planes, and tanks. Africa was cleaned up in short order. Then Sicily and Italy. On D Day, Eisenhower records in his memoirs: "There were 10,500 Allied planes, mostly American, over the beachheads of Normandy and the hinterland of Normandy."

On those same days there were fewer than fifty German planes able to penetrate. In the course of this war, American industry turned out vastly more military planes, ships of war, rounds of ammunition, military vehicles, tanks and so on than all the rest of the world combined. From the time we broke out of the beachhead at Normandy, it was only six weeks until we reached the Rhine. All of Europe, with its universal military training and its tens upon tens of millions of men, was able to do nothing against the Nazis except fall.

The answer was in American industrial, technological, and scientific strength so overwhelming that while we completely defeated the Nazis with one hand we completely defeated the only great power of Asia with the other. Incidentally, there never was an invasion of Japan. Japan

was battered down from a distance. Today MacArthur, with about 150,000 unarmed kids, is holding 80,000,000 Japs in complete subjection—4,000,000 of whom surrendered unconditionally, everyone of whom had had two to four years of universal military training.

That shows the complete irrelevancy of universal military training in the last war. It will even be more irrelevant in the next.

The President's hand-picked commission has said that there is only one justification for universal military training and that is defense. The President's commission, in this report, has said universal military training has no place in American life, except it be defense. I can think of no lesson of history more irrefutably set out than the lesson that universal military training has nothing to do with defense or with military strength.

The President's commission says that on the first day a dozen or more of our great cities will be wiped out, our centers of communications wiped out, our ports wiped out, and our manufacturing facilities in those cities and in the vicinity will be wiped out. What about the second day, the third day, and the fourth day? How are you going to organize compulsorily military-trained kids with chintz-curtained military training of no consequence whatever to defend areas that as we know by authoritative testimony will be rendered completely uninhabitable for years by a single atomic bomb? You will not be able to organize them or to defend those areas in that manner. The President's commission says: "The reluctance of any enemy to strike at America will be in direct proportion to the mobile, active, immediately useful striking force that we keep on hand."

The chairman of that commission, Dr. Compton, is a good scientist. He knows what the term "direct proportion" means mathematically. It means simply that if you have a large enough striking force there will be no attack on America. Uni-

versal military training can play no part in that striking force.

I have observed military training in some twenty or twenty-five countries. I can tell you that the verdict of history is going to hold in deadly responsibility those who bring this horrible cancer on the United States of America, the last great nation where men are still free.

That concludes my testimony, sir.

Mr. Arends: Would you place in the record, at the beginning of your remarks, your present affiliations and your background, so we might have it in the record?

Dr. Bates: My training is primarily scientific: with a doctorate degree from a French university in Alsace-Lorraine, the University of Nancy. I am now vice-president in charge of research and engineering for the Portland Cement Association. As I mentioned, I was called into a secret service organization in late 1944. The organization was under directive from the highest authority in the country to penetrate Germany and run down, smash, or in some way stop any efforts it may be making on atomic energy and atomic bombs. The outfit that I was with covered all fronts. We captured all the scientists of any account who were working on atomic energy and atomic bombs and similar advanced weapons of Germany.

Incidentally, in the course of that operation, my outfit captured a Dr. Osenberg, who had been established by Hitler and Goering to head the German National War Council. The first to question him, I asked, "Why do you think you are losing the war?" Osenberg's answer was: "Most importantly because Hitler insisted all our boys be in the Army, and he thereby completely disrupted the one great advantage Germany had—her research and her technological and her engineering supremacy."

Mr. Winstead: Isn't it true that Germany also had universal military training?

Dr. Bates: Germany had universal military training from, roughly, 1807. Universal military training began—I am sure

you all know—in France. Within fifteen years, a military adventurer, Napoleon, had come along and used those compulsorily military-trained soldiers to scourge Europe as only Hitler has scourged it since.

Mr. Winstead: Well, is it your opinion that the German military machine was weakened or strengthened with universal military training?

Dr. Bates: It was weakened, definitely. From the moment when Germany began to depend on mass armies and not on her technical supremacy she lost. The one thing we feared in the war was that she might get the atomic bomb ahead of us.

Mr. Winstead: Is it your opinion that Poland and France would have held out much longer without universal military training?

Dr. Bates: The German military machine which broke through at Sedan took ten days to reach the coast near Dunkirk. So it made no difference whether they had universal military training or not. Those blitzkriegs with which Germany had wiped out Europe could hardly have gone any faster, regardless of the training of the opposition. In other words, to answer your question directly, it would not have made a particle of difference.

Mr. Norblad: Do you believe in the maintenance of a large standing army and/or strong Reserve-ROTC program?

Dr. Bates: I believe, first of all, in the complete supremacy of technology, engineering, and science in war. The emphasis of engineering, science, and industry is so great that masses must be kept to the minimum. I believe if we take one man from that striking force and use him to train kids, we will have lost thereby. I believe in a strong navy. I believe in a very great air force. I believe in great research and in a strong industry.

Mr. Andrews: It is true, as a matter of fact, that all the cases of universal military training you talked of were conscription, isn't it? You realize this bill does not provide for conscription in that sense. It

merely provides for training; no man under this program would be in the Army.

Dr. Bates: Yes, I realize that.

Mr. Andrews: Well, that is a fact. You realize that, don't you?

Dr. Bates: I realize that. May I continue?

Mr. Andrews: No. I am questioning you now.

Dr. Bates: Yes, sir.

Mr. Andrews: It is conclusive that nothing in the report indicates that at any time a man under training is a member of the Army of the United States. Have you read the report?

Dr. Bates: I have read the report in great detail. I have underscored and outlined it. You say he is not recorded as a member of the Army of the United States. It is a camp, however, under Army officers, where they are getting Army training and indoctrination. Furthermore, he is subject to call on a moment's notice.

Mr. Andrews: You realize this whole program is conceived to implement the National Guard and the ROTC, so as to make it exactly what you want it to be?

Dr. Bates: I do. Incidentally, the ROTC and the National Guard are sections of the formal American military forces, and you do envisage putting every boy in one or more. So these boys are in the Army, in a sense.

Mr. Andrews: If any trainee sees fit to go into the ROTC or the other things, it is at his own option.

Mr. Short: But under this measure, every boy must go.

Dr. Bates: That is right.

Mr. Short: It is compulsory, and compulsion is repugnant to free men.

Dr. Bates: I think it is absolutely undermining to a man's ideals.

Mr. Van Zandt: Doctor, you believe in an adequate defense?

Dr. Bates: Yes.

Mr. Van Zandt: Of course, you realize that an adequate defense must be manned by the necessary number of men. If it is

impossible for your Government to voluntarily enlist the men required, how are you going to make up the difference?

Dr. Bates: Have you any proof that it is impossible?

Mr. Van Zandt: Well, based upon reports we receive periodically from the War Department, they are encountering great difficulty to enlist the necessary number of men for the armed forces.

Dr. Bates: By successively making the standards so high they screen out the great majority.

Mr. Van Zandt: That is a difference of opinion. How can you explain the inability of the National Guard to recruit its man power to peacetime strength today?

Dr. Bates: I can assign that, I think, very adequately to the scandalous treatment the National Guard received.

Mr. Van Zandt: Now, if the National Guard were made attractive and still the man power did not answer the call to fill up its peacetime ranks, how would you get the man power then?

Dr. Bates: Your question implies that I think the National Guard is the vital element of the national defense. It is not. The vital element is a professional army, and an instantly ready professional army.

Mr. Van Zandt: Well, if the professional army was unable to fill its ranks from voluntary enlistments, how would you acquire the man power?

Dr. Bates: There is no proof that a professional army cannot find its volunteers. As a professor of engineering and scientific subjects, I am completely confident that if the Army is made a technical, scientific, and highly engineered branch, in which every man must be the recipient of adequate technical information and education, there will be plenty of young fellows who will want to get into it. Incidentally, the \$2,000,000,000—and I believe that is a modest sum, in spite of the War Department figure of one and three quarter billion—which it is proposed to spend on universal military training would put

500,000 men through technical school every year. That is vastly more than adequate.

Mr. Van Zandt: You believe in the navy too?

Dr. Bates: A navy which is predominantly below surface and way above surface.

Mr. Van Zandt: How about the battleships?

Dr. Bates: I think the battleships are entirely anachronistic. They have no place in modern warfare.

Mr. Van Zandt: Then how are you going to land troops, to hold these objectives that this air power may bomb out?

Dr. Bates: Without battleships? I think General Eisenhower covered that pretty completely. He said the landing on D Day was so quiet as to have an air of unreality about it. There was not a German airplane in the air. Let me read that—

Mr. Towe: The Chair will state that we can't keep this going forever. We have other members who haven't been heard.

Dr. Bates: In other words, Eisenhower—

Mr. Towe: Just a moment. We have very little time, Doctor.

Mr. Arends: I would like to ask you one question, Doctor. To the best of my knowledge, we have not had any particular scientific expert completely versed in all matters concerning atomic power and energy before this committee to tell of the effect that atomic warfare might have in the next war. Don't you think we should have some expert before this committee?

Dr. Bates: I can't conceive of how you could possibly arrive at any sensible conclusion without that.

Mr. Towe: Do you consider Dr. Compton unqualified on that subject?

Dr. Bates: I consider Dr. Arthur Compton better qualified.

Mr. Towe: I asked you whether you considered our Dr. Compton unqualified.

Dr. Bates: I don't consider him unprejudiced.

(Continued on page 26)

For Time

A Soldier Returns

A soldier came home today. He is back in the land that bore him, and thrust him forth so soon to lay his young life down. No "unknown soldier" he, by mystery sealed within his shrine. This lad I knew had not lived out his teens, yet ere he died an artist had risen within him, with stroke of bow and brush to make rare beauty live. A life that spoke in form and music is silent now in sacrifice, and cannot rise to serve the home he loved. Such as he are not "unknown soldiers." You know these quiet comrades of our blessed dead, young husbands, fathers, your neighbor's child, your son. These have joined the company of those "of whom the world was not worthy." Now they encompass us to witness our faithfulness. Or did they die, doing their duty, that we might do as we please?

In the early days of the war, an Army officer was my seat companion on the train leaving Chicago. We broke an unusually long silence by exchanging introductions; then my new friend revealed the burden of his trip. He had just left his wife and their twin daughters after attending memorial services for his only son, a pilot killed in the line of duty. I will not live long enough to forget a brokenhearted father's woe: "The kind of life most people of this nation are living is not worth five minutes of my son's life!" He who scorns the duty in which this boy died embitters the bereaved and mocks the dead. Duty prized in time of war is the sacred treasure of the peace. We now are free only to obey the voice of God.

Congress Returns

There is a special providence in that the call for the session of Congress should be issued at the time America is receiving her dead. Congress has been called in special session to discover and call us to our duty to Europe's and the world's relief. The evidence is convincing that a voluntary food-rationing program will not meet the need. The issues of the aid program, as of the war, are too critical to be left to the uncertain results of any "voluntary aid" system. However, the persuasion that we cannot save Europe with our surplus will not be employed by the Christian as an excuse to refuse the fullest co-operation in the voluntary food-rationing program. Whether or not the nation sacrificially administers its resources in this day of desperate need, the Christian will give sacrificially obedient to the command of God and constraint of compassion: "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ."

Take These

The Illusion of Security

The peacetime-training advocates may decide that the special session of Congress is the time to drive for the adoption of this program. The record of Dr. A. A. Bates's appearance before the Subcommittee on Armed Services, though considerably condensed in another section of this issue, gives his resounding indictment of conscription. His plea for strong units of the professional armed services is also given to fairly represent his statement before the committee. However, it may not be Dr. Bates's position that we or the other nations can find security in "unequaled" destructive power. The ultimate multilateral reduction of armaments and control under the United Nations is essential to security.

A full record of the hearing can be secured by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. This article, together with the earlier ones by Hanson Baldwin and Cord Meyer, solely on military grounds, disposes of the arguments for peacetime training or conscription and convincingly reveals that the security promised is illusory though the cost to freedom is very real.

There is an inherent conflict between great national armaments and peace. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, in *The Religion of Man*, suggests the fatal burden of armaments for defense: "The primeval animals that produced an enormous volume of flesh had to build a gigantic system of bones to carry the burden. This required in its turn a long and substantial array of tails to give it balance. Thus their bodies, being compelled to occupy a vast area, exposed a very large surface which had to be protected by a strong, heavy and capacious armour. A progress which represented a congress of dead materials required a parallel organization of teeth and claws, or horns and hooves, which also were dead."

"In its own manner one mechanical burden links itself to other burdens of machines, and Life grows to be a carrier of the dead, a mere platform for machinery, until it is crushed to death by its interminable paradoxes....

"But the form of life that seeks the great privilege of movement must minimize its load of the dead and must realize that life's progress should be a perfect progress of the inner life itself and not of materials and machinery; the non-living must not continue outgrowing the living, the armour deadening the skin, the armament laming the arms."¹

¹ Used by permission of The Macmillan Company.

Atomic Energy Is Your Business

(Continued from page 8)

walls of this chapel, the mountains and the seas, are likewise composed of atoms and their nucleuses. We are therefore throwing light upon the very nature of the structure of the world we live in. What is important to understand is not just what the precise effect of knowledge of these basic forces will be—which is necessarily speculative—but, rather, that important changes will come—which is as certain as anything in this world is.

What should concern us, it seems to me, is not that changes are coming. Americans have always taken change in their stride; generally speaking, we thrive on it.

What we should be concerned about, and what we should make sure of, is that the changes shall be fitted into the American way of doing things, that those changes shall not be so imposed upon that individual freedom is impaired. We must make sure that the American people will have a say-so, and a decisive say-so, in the adjudgments these discoveries will bring in community life, in our agricultural, educational, industrial, and military institutions. You must make dead sure that your public servants in all branches of your Government, civil and military, legislative and executive, all understand clearly that atomic energy is your business.

It comes down to this, the whole problem of atomic energy, and of all the great scientific discoveries it is bound to bring:

First, we must persist until we find ways whereby mankind will not make use of these discoveries for destruction and evil.

Secondly, and closely related to the first, we must find ways of encouraging and stimulating the application of these discoveries and new ones to come, to things that are beneficial and helpful to mankind.

Bear in mind, what is needed is not knowledge and judgment about scientific or engineering matters—you don't have that and couldn't take the time to acquire

it, of course. The technical forces associated with the Atomic Energy Commission can do that, and are doing a good job of it, and one you will be proud of. The quality of that job is being constantly checked by independent advisory boards of distinguished scientists. But the kind of judgment that I am talking about is of quite a different sort—for example, a sense of what things people will accept as right and sensible and workable. What is needed is sense about human relations, about standards of fairness, about principles of self-government and of self-education. These judgments turn on the weight to be given to concern for the individual as compared to concern for the state. The issues call for the kind of over-all judgment that is summed up when your neighbor says, "That makes sense to me."

Nothing could weaken the security of our country in the atomic field more quickly, nor more surely slow up research in cancer control, than to permit science and scientists to be kicked around by the organized forces of ignorance and demagoguery, and petty politics. You don't have to have scientific training to sense that this would be bad, bad for you, bad for the country. This sort of thing is a real danger to our scientific progress. There is only one real protection against the harm that selfish and ignorant men can do, and that is an informed public.

There are many other broad issues where your judgment will be essential, and your interest vital. These might include such matters as the proposals for international control of atomic weapons; the conditions under which the present Government monopoly in this field can safely be changed to private competitive production; the share of the national budget that should be devoted to scientific research; the adequacy of protection against health hazards from radioactive materials in the air and on the ground; the proper relation of civilian direction to the military in this field; what kind and size of navy,

army, and air force we need in the light of developments in scientific warfare; what sense the proposals make that we go underground; the workability of decentralization of cities as a defense measure; how rapidly atomic fuel may supplement coal, oil, and water power as a source of electricity; the wisdom and workability of censorship of the press and radio as a means of maintaining secrecy in this field, under peacetime conditions. Such a list of policy issues could be extended almost indefinitely.

You need to watch your public servants, to keep an eye on us, whether in the executive branch, the military, or in Congress. And to do so effectively, your views and judgments must be based upon some knowledge of the background of facts.

How can you acquire sufficient information to make you effective? I have some suggestions to offer along this line.

As to what you should know, remember that the information you need to have is not secret technical information. Nor is it highly complicated. The essentials of atomic energy even on the scientific side, are actually not difficult, not nearly so difficult as those who would like to keep the decisions to themselves would lead you to believe.

The problem is chiefly one of getting nonsecret information into a form for your consideration that will be clear, interesting, and without bias. And for this you can properly expect great things of the press of the United States, the radio, and the magazines. These, together with motion pictures, constitute one of the greatest educational forces in human history. The press, the radio, and the magazines are competent to take the body of knowledge that exists and with their great skills of presentation make this subject clear and alive for everyone in all the communities of America.

It is important that the facts and analysis of policies should come to you from a variety of sources, and above all that

they should not come solely from official sources. This variety gives you a chance to check one version against another, and draw your own conclusions.

Such help as this from the outside is necessary, and can be very useful. But try to keep this as close to home as possible, when you come to your analysis and your discussion of these things. Don't be content to take ideas that have been pre-digested for you at some distant place. Put this on the programs of your Chamber of Commerce, the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the unions, the Parent-Teacher Association, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and similar organizations, the League of Women Voters, 4-H Clubs, the local veterans organizations, the business and professional women's organization, the bar association, and county medical society—and so on. These are your organizations. Speak your mind in your own town.

You don't need a brand-new organization for this purpose. Make use of the many fine civic, fraternal, educational, professional, and religious organizations you now have in your community.

Let me say this: Look upon this task of becoming familiar with the essentials of atomic energy as an obligation directly to your children—and if there are grandchildren, to your grandchildren; or to those likeable youngsters next door. This is at least as direct a way of doing your duty to your children as the sacrifices you make without hesitation to get them an education, or the right diet and good doctors. If schemers or fools or rascals or hysterical stuffed shirts get this thing out of your hands, it may be too late to find out what it is all about. Do this for your children.

Anyway, that idea helps me on my own job; that idea, and the feeling I have deep in me that God the Father of us all did not make man in His image and endow him with capacity to learn nature's secrets in order that man use that knowledge to destroy the human race.

Sanctuary

The Christian Vision for Mankind *

Call to Worship:

Let us worship God.

"Oh sing unto the Lord a new song: Sing unto the Lord, all the earth. Sing unto the Lord, bless his name; Show forth his salvation from day to day. Declare his glory among the nations, His marvellous works among all the peoples. For great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised: He is to be feared above all gods. . . . Honor and majesty are before him: Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary. . . . Say among the nations, the Lord reigneth."

Hymn:

"The God of Abraham Praise."

Invocation:

"Almighty God, the Ever Blessed, the Ever Holy, whose mercy is from everlasting to everlasting, and whose strength is perfected in our weakness, help us how to draw near to thee, that with mind and heart we may worship thee. We bring to thee the thirst we cannot quench at any earthly spring, and the hunger which is only satisfied by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Lift us out of our shadows into thy light, out of our fears into thy comfortable thoughts, out of our perplexities into thy clear truth, out of our burdens into thy strength, out of our foolish and disappointed purposes into thy holy and blessed will, out of our troubles into thy peace. For sin give repentance, for sorrow give trust, from the strife of passion and care grant rest, and do thou visit indifference with thy quickening power. Give us that great faith in thee which will fill us with peace with the known that surrounds us, and with the unknown that is above and beyond us; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

—John Hunter.

Scripture Glimpses of the Christian Vision:

Christ's Vision of His Own Work. Luke 4: 16-19.

The Call for Justice. Amos 5: 24.

The Message for the Multitudes. Matt. 5: 1-9.

The Mark of the Christian. Mark 10: 42-45.

The Centrality of Love. I John 4: 7-11.

The Vision of the Future. Micah 4: 1-4.

The Consummation. Rev. 21: 1-5.

Hymn:

"Come, Kingdom of Our God."

* Arranged by Deane Edwards, Secretary, Commission on Worship, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Prayer for the World:

"O God, who rulest the world from end to end and from everlasting to everlasting, speak to our hearts when courage fails, and men faint for fear, and the love of many grows cold, and there is distress of the nations upon earth. Keep us resolute and steadfast in the things that cannot be shaken, abounding in hope and knowing that our labor is not in vain in thee. Restore our faith in the omnipotence of good; renew in us the love which never faileth; and make us to lift up our eyes and behold, beyond the things which are seen and temporal, the things which are unseen and eternal; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

"Eternal God, in whose perfect Kingdom no sword is drawn but the sword of righteousness, and no strength known but the strength of love; so guide and inspire, we pray thee, the work of those who seek thy Kingdom, that the nations may find their security, not in the force of arms, but in that perfect love which casteth out fear, and in that fellowship revealed to us by thy Son, Jesus Christ. Amen."

—*Memorials upon several occasions (altered).*

"Master, we pray for the peace of the world, for creative peace that is founded in seeing the best in all peoples, built up in humble and Christlike service and crowned in unending endeavor after thy Kingdom.

"We pray for the peace that means goodness of will, pity, humility, true reconciling of hostile forces.

"We pray for the peace that is brotherhood, not of mere sentiment, but of arduous practical labor.

"We pray for the peace that means giving our best for distant peoples, for the peace that means sacrifice, gladly embraced, that world order, world plenty, world freedom, may come.

"Show us, O Master, thy will and thy way, that today we may do our part in thus building thy peace. Amen."

—John S. Hoyland.

Affirmation of Faith and Purpose (unison, congregation standing):

"The world is anxious and bewildered and full of pain and fear. We are troubled, yet we do not despair. Our hope is anchored in the living God. In Christ, and in the union of men with God and of man with man, which he creates, life even in face of all these evils has a meaning. In his name we set our hands, as the servants of God and in him of one another, to the task of proclaiming God's message of redemption, of living as his children and of combating injustice, cruelty, and hate. The Church can be of good cheer; it hears its Lord saying, 'I have overcome the world.'"

—*Oxford World Conference, 1937.*

Hymn:

"God of the Spirit-Wind (Tune, "Russian Hymn").

Benediction:

"Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto him be the glory in the church and in Christ Jesus unto all generations for ever and ever. Amen."

Washington Witness on Peace-time Training

(Continued from page 19)

Mr. Towe: You prefer not to answer, put it that way?

Dr. Bates: No. I will answer it. I consider him as one of a large number of qualified men of whom he almost alone favors universal military training.

Mr. Towe: We weren't talking about that. For the moment, we were talking about his qualifications.

Dr. Bates: Yes. I am introducing all of the picture.

Mr. Sasseeer: Are you opposed to selective service in time of an emergency?

Dr. Bates: No; I am not.

Mr. Sasseeer: What, then, is the line of demarcation between putting the finger on them in time of peace through universal military training, to have that reservoir in case of emergency, and the placing of the finger on them through selective service in time of emergency?

Dr. Bates: You have asked me if I oppose universal military training. My answer was intended to convey the sense that in case of actual emergency, I am in favor of conscripting the complete man power and woman power of the country, only a very, very small portion of which should receive universal military training. In other words, I don't think this program, even in wartime, is of any military consequence. It is, as a matter of fact, in my opinion, one of the most formidable barriers to any true military preparing of the country. Finally, as to the difference between wartime and peacetime, they are utterly different in spirit. Any young man who knows he is being trained to fight an enemy who is visibly trying to fight him, who is visibly trying to tear his country apart, will do it in a spirit that is real.

Mr. Sasseeer: Yes; but he would need some training before that emergency arose.

Dr. Bates: None; not in the sense of this bill.

Mr. Sasseeer: You mean, if the enemy landed, then just conscript them and start fighting?

Dr. Bates: No. I mean to have a large professional army to prevent the enemy from landing.

Mr. Sasseeer: I didn't want to take too much time, but you haven't quite answered. Maybe I didn't make myself clear.

Dr. Bates: Sorry.

Mr. Sasseeer: I am directing my question primarily to the line of demarcation between universal military training now and selective service in the event of an emergency. Do you mean to imply you wouldn't conscript some unless you conscripted the whole resources of the country, by way of man and woman power?

Dr. Bates: No. I mean in the event of modern total war, which is the only war now possible, every man and woman will have to be told what to do.

Mr. Sasseeer: Then, conscript the whole business.

Dr. Bates: Conscript the whole business; yes.

Mr. Sasseeer: In other words, training just as we had before the last war.

Dr. Bates: I think training as we had before the last war would be entirely irrelevant in the next war, in major part.

Mr. Sasseeer: You have to have some foot soldiers to pull the trigger.

Dr. Bates: I don't know. As a scientist, I tend to extrapolate historical data along with other data. In the Civil War, about seventy-five per cent of the soldiers engaged were foot soldiers; in World War I, about forty per cent; in World War II, about ten per cent; in World War III, if I may extrapolate as a scientist, practically none.

Mr. Short: Doctor, is it not a historical fact that every great nation who has ever had universal military training and peacetime conscription has gone down in utter defeat and ruin?

Dr. Bates: They have gone down in direct proportion to the extent to which they exploited military training.

Recommendations on Civil Rights

(Continued from page 11)

discrimination in the admission and treatment of students based on race, color, creed, or national origin.

4. For housing:
The enactment by the states of laws outlawing restrictive covenants; Renewed court attack, with intervention by the Department of Justice, upon restrictive covenants.

5. For health services:
The enactment by the states of fair health practice statutes forbidding discrimination and segregation based on race, color, or national origin, in the operation of public or private health facilities.

6. For public services:
The enactment by Congress of a law stating that discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the rendering of all public services by the national Government is contrary to public policy; The enactment by the states of similar laws;
The establishment by act of Congress or executive order of a unit in the Federal Bureau of Budget to review the execution of all Government programs, and the expenditures of all Government funds, for compliance with the policy of nondiscrimination;
The enactment by Congress of a law prohibiting discrimination or segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in interstate transportation and all the facilities thereof, to apply against both public officers and the employees of private transportation companies;
The enactment by the states of laws guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined, for persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origins.

7. For the District of Columbia:
The enactment by Congress of legislation to accomplish the following purposes in the District;
Prohibition of discrimination and segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in all public or publicly supported hospitals, parks, recreational facilities, housing projects, welfare agencies, penal institutions, and concessions on public property;
The prohibition of segregation in the public-school system of the District of Columbia;
The establishment of a fair educational practice program directed against discrimination, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, in the admission of students to private educational institutions;
The establishment of a fair health practice program forbidding discrimination and segregation by public or private agencies based on race, creed, or national origin, with respect to the training of doctors and nurses, the admission of patients to hospitals, clinics, and similar institutions, and the right of doctors and nurses to practice in hospitals;
The outlawing of restrictive covenants; Guaranteeing equal access to places of public accommodation, broadly defined, to persons of all races, colors, creeds, and national origins.

8. The enactment by Congress of legislation ending the system of segregation in the Panama Canal Zone.

VI. To rally the American people to support of a continuing program to strengthen civil rights:

A long-term campaign of public education to inform the people of the civil rights to which they are entitled and which they owe to one another.

Order full report, Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia 7, Pa. 10 cents.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Freedom—1947

Department of State Dismissals.

According to the New York *Post* ten persons were dismissed by the Department of State on June 23 with no hearing and no appeal. Secretary Marshall stated that dismissed employees had been "keeping company" with representatives of foreign powers, but added they were keeping company "indirectly." There has been no definition of "indirectly." On October 7, the Department of State made public a loyalty code and on the same day an undisclosed number of employees resigned. This latter is an illustration of the fear that exists in the hearts of men when constitutional rights of hearing and appeal are denied. It should be pointed out that Secretary Marshall in these dismissals acted under an emergency war powers act set up to weed out disloyal employees during the war. The President has extended this act to cover employees of the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission.

House Committee on Un-American Activity. As we go to press, the House Committee on Un-American Activity is conducting hearings on so-called un-American activity in Hollywood. Thus far the hearings have been very general in character, and no real evidence has been disclosed. It is to be hoped that this committee will redeem its record to date and conduct hearings so that name calling ceases, that two sides of a story are given, and that testimony adheres to evidence only.

Rees Bill. The third method of direct attack upon freedom now in process in Washington is the Rees Bill (H.R. 3588) providing for a Federal Employees' Loyalty Act of 1947. This bill passed the House by a large majority and awaits Senate action. Whereas there can be no question as to the fact that each employee of the Government be of "complete and unswerv-

ing loyalty" to the United States, this bill does raise a serious question in its definition of "reasonable grounds" for disloyalty. The following appears in section 5:

"Sec. 5. (a) The standard which the Board shall use as the basis for the refusal of employment or for the removal from employment in an executive department or agency on grounds relating to loyalty shall be that, on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person investigated is disloyal to the Government of the United States.

"(b) Activities and associations of an applicant or employee which may be considered by the Board in connection with the determination of disloyalty shall include one or more of the following:

"1. Sabotage

"2. Treason

"3. Performing so as to serve the interests of another Government in preference to the interests of the United States.

"4. Membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with, any foreign or domestic organization designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive."

Our Bill of Rights with its designated freedoms is fundamental to our democracy, and is basic to the existence of the Church. There is no graver question before the Christian today than the attempts to curtail our freedoms. Write your Congressman for a copy of H.R. 3588; analyze this bill and its relation to our Bill of Rights. You will then know what action to take if you would prevent further curtailment of freedom. Communications regarding the House Committee on Un-American Activity should be addressed to Honorable J. Parnell Thomas, chairman, and to Speaker Joseph W. Martin, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.; regarding the State Department, to the President of the United States and to the Honorable George C. Marshall, Washington, D. C.

The Workshop

An Idea from the Federated Church. After the Women's Society of the Federated Church of Fergus Falls, Minnesota, saw the film *Seeds of Destiny*, each unit decided to adopt a European child. Now, each month, five different children of Europe are receiving food and clothing from the five units of our Church. One individual family has decided to bring one of those children to America and take him into their home as one of their own.
—*Reported by Mrs. Wm. Van Dyken, S.E.A. Secretary, Red River Presbyterial, Minnesota.*

Christian People Called to "Keep Kansas Dry." A group of denominational leaders of which Rev. L. E. Schwarz, of our Topeka Westminster Church, is chairman, have called upon the Christian people of Kansas to prepare for the general election of 1948 when Kansas will vote on the repeal of Constitutional prohibition. There is deep concern among the Christian people of Kansas lest legal liquor traffic be brought to our state, and every effort is being made to educate our fellow citizens on the dangers involved in it. The Kansas United Dry Forces have inaugurated an educational campaign and have authorized the employment of a full-time educational director. All Kansas Churches have been called to take an offering to help to defray the expenses of the expanded activity of the Dry Forces.—*Kansas Presbyterian News*, July, 1947.

Wheat Needed for Relief. Kansas wheat farmers have been called upon to contribute at least 1 per cent of their bumper wheat crop for the relief of the starving in Europe and Asia by Sam P. Wallingford, prominent Presbyterian layman of Wichita. General Chairman of the Wheat for Relief project of the Kansas

Council of Churches, Mr. Wallingford is one of the leading grain dealers of the state. He is a member of our Wichita First Church. Contributions will be sent overseas through the Church World Service Wheat Project.

The plan calls for farmers to indicate to the elevator operators the number of bushels they want used for relief. The operator gives a separate weigh bill for the amount designated and sends a copy to the local Church or the Kansas Council. When enough has been accumulated to make up a carload, the Church agency will arrange the shipment.—*Kansas Presbyterian News*, July, 1947.

Iowa Synodical's S.E.A. Goal—“that God's will shall prevail in all human relationships.”

Objectives for Women's Organizations:

1. Promotion of world order.
2. Promotion of co-operation between races, culture, and classes in the U.S.A.
3. Arouse consciousness of community problems and the Christian's obligation to help to solve them.

Goals:

1. Have an active S.E.A. secretary in each local society.
2. Increase subscriptions and use of SOCIAL PROGRESS in each society.
3. Select one phase of social education and action needed in your Church or community. Build your program and action around it.

Suggestions for Local Groups:

1. Plan one or two S.E.A. total membership meetings each year.
2. Give five- or ten-minute progress reports or “call to action” at each meeting.
3. Hold at least one study group.

The Ultimate Solution to the Alcohol Problem

(Continued from page 13)

sembly statement seems to me exactly right. Any degree of progress with it (as a whole, not just some isolated step) takes us much closer to a possible ultimate solution. What is that ultimate solution that appears now to be so far away?

The ultimate solution, it seems to me, would be found when alcoholic beverages had no compulsive hold on anyone's life. So far as we can now see in any society which is possible, a compulsive hold on some people could not be prevented if the beverages were in free circulation. Hence the ultimate solution apparently implies, among other things, no alcohol. But how the removal of both the compulsion and the alcohol would be possible in a highly competitive, acquisitive, and high-tension society, it is difficult to see. That is, the legal abolition of trade in alcoholic beverages would not be an ultimate solution unless accompanied by something of an order different from the legal. Abolition would have to be by concurrence based on understanding. A society is implied in which the needs now met by alcohol (however falsely) would then be met in non-harmful ways.

The ultimate solution must be thought of, therefore, not as a "measure" or an "action," but as a goal, as something toward which various measures and actions and steps may be taken. To take steps without a vision of the goal will be to cloud the issues and perhaps inhibit motivation. So a view of the ultimate solution is essential—as long as it is carefully defined and is not confused with any step or measure, however far-reaching, in moving toward that solution.

In the light of this, what may be said of some of the more radical steps toward an ultimate solution which are now being considered or proposed? What, first, of prohibitory measures? The General As-

sembly commands local and state option. This is much more important than it was twenty-five years ago. Then the states lacked legal authority for enforcing a dry decision; now they have it. Work in this direction can be important. But the way in which it is done is also of great importance.

What of "taking the private profit out of liquor"? Socializing the entire alcohol industry might well be of value, especially if taken as one step and not under the illusion that it might be an ultimate solution. The countries that have established state monopoly of alcohol have shown then a tendency to be as much addicted to manufacturing revenues as they were previously to the tax revenues from the private trade. Social ownership has hazards of its own, and its advocates do well to guard those points specifically if socializing the industry is to be shown as sufficiently worthwhile to be tried.

These and other steps, in addition to those specifically mentioned in the 1946 statement, need to be constantly under study looking toward action. But one important criterion that needs to be kept in mind is: Does this really move toward the ultimate solution, or does it merely satisfy us that we are doing something? There is a proper concern, for example, to minimize liquor advertising, some of which is nearly as bad as its worst critics assert. But there is a great difference between action on the advertising front as one of many approaches toward the solution of the alcohol problem, and action on advertising merely because it reminds us graphically that there is a problem.

We cannot help being interested in the ultimate solution to the alcohol problem. Since this is so, then we shall also be interested in action along the steps that lead in the direction of that solution. The two go together. To have this concern and act upon it is to follow the suggestion of the 1946 statement. One vote for the General Assembly.

Another Kind of Christmas

(Continued from page 15)

children in Europe and in China—an incident cited only to show how individual initiative is being made to count. Many people are concerned and welcome a chance to help, and the Churches, among others, have done a great work in providing a way for people to contribute.

Meanwhile, some help, pitifully meager in amount, goes forward through the Children's Fund, an undertaking launched earlier in the year by unanimous vote of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Its Executive Committee is made up of representatives of twenty-six countries, countries that on other issues are often bitterly divided but on this, act with great unanimity.

The Fund now has contributions of some \$30,000,000. That figure includes the initial grant of \$15,000,000 from the United States. A further contribution of \$25,000,000 has been authorized by Congress, provided that the total United States Government contribution does not exceed fifty-seven per cent of the aggregate contributed by donor Governments. Canada has contributed \$5,000,000; Czechoslovakia, \$600,000. Australia has pledged approximately \$3,221,000. France, hard-pressed itself, is to give six per cent of whatever sum is received from the United States. Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Newfoundland, Norway, Switzerland, and Uruguay have contributed or have indicated that they would make contributions. The Fund has received \$5,100,000 from UNRRA's residual assets and \$500,000 from last year's Emergency Food Collection.

The plan is to use money currently available to buy food for as many children and expectant and nursing mothers as is possible. By international agreement—and I want to stress the international character of the agreement—the children

who are to be aided this winter are children in Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Funds have also been set aside to get some help to the children of China, and a provisional allocation has been made for other parts of the Far East and to the island of Malta.

The first shipments of that food—dried milk and canned meat from Canada and the United States—have already reached their European destinations, and more is on the way. This food will be distributed without regard to nationality, creed, race, or political consideration. Who the children are, where they are, and how they are to be reached has been, or is being, worked out with officials of recipient countries in co-operation with Children's Fund representatives.

That which is to be provided is little enough: some 240 calories of milk, fat, and cocoa, and in addition, in most countries, some 150 calories of canned meats or fish, or certain other items. Cod-liver oil is also to be furnished in some instances. All told, food supplied by the Children's Fund will cost about three cents a meal, but it may make all the difference.

Food takes priority now only because it must. As more money becomes available medical supplies will be brought in—a half million dollars is set aside for that purpose now—and health programs will be undertaken. Those efforts in the beginning will be directed largely toward checking tuberculosis and eradicating venereal diseases among the child population. Help will also be brought in for the crippled, the maimed, and the blind—war's youngest casualties.

The job is world-size, and I know of no more important work to be done than to get help to these children. I hope that at this holiday season when we plan for our own we will think of these others; they too are our children, the least of them.

*The Marshall Plan—Its A, B, C, and Urgency: Will It Save Europe?**

WHY does chaotic Europe need a Marshall Plan? Will catastrophe stalk that shattered continent if America does not give help, and quickly? Can and will Europe help itself?

This hour is one of profound crisis in Europe. This very epoch well may be as sweeping in its far-flung outcome—as decisive for the very future of Western civilization itself—as the most dramatic battles of World War II.

Recognizing the present dire situation on the horizon, the United States last June offered a helping hand to Europe in the shape of large-scale reconstruction aid. But it made this condition:

That Europe get together, co-operate, and show exactly how it could do its maximum to help itself.

Europe has responded to this offer, voiced by Secretary of State George C. Marshall. It has responded with a concrete recovery plan, drafted at Paris by the sixteen-nation Conference for European Economic Co-operation. That plan is of sweeping significance, not only because of its backdrop of threatened catastrophe, but also because of its thrilling potentialities for a new and saner order in Western Europe based on economic working together. That plan now is before the American people for judgment.

What follows here is that plan, explained in simple terms for the layman to understand. It is tremendously important for him to understand it clearly. Seldom in history has any nation faced so clear-cut a decision of such vast implications for itself and for civilization. The American people must make that kind of decision.

* By DeWitt John. Reprinted with permission from *The Christian Science Monitor*, September 26, 1947. Copyright, 1947, by the Christian Science Publishing Society.

Why Europe's Crisis?

What has happened in Europe? There was war—six years of unmitigated destruction. The continent was blasted, burned, ravaged.

Europe's outward civilization was wrecked. Freighters were sunk, bridges blown up, railroads destroyed, businesses wiped out, markets lost, skilled workers dispersed—and masses of ordinary people driven pell-mell before armies or moved away from their homes and jobs forcibly.

When the soldier returned after V-E Day, he found his homeland—many homelands—prostrate, idle, laid waste. Nevertheless, recovery came rapidly in those early months of peace.

Then winter struck in pitiless fury. The continent's struggling economy literally was frozen to a standstill. Coal barges lay snow-covered and idle while millions shivered. And the farmer's winter sowing rotted in the ground. The farmer sowed again last spring. But the rains did not come. Hard blue skies spelled drought. The harvest this summer is poor, and prospects for the over-all crop are growing worse.

That is the broad picture. The sixteen nations conferring at Paris have documented it with much hard and convincing evidence. Their massive report etches it with abundant, clear-cut, vivid detail. This report tells why Europe's task is so grim. The conferees have done two things—analyzed the problem and proposed a solution.

The conferees tell exactly what Europe's "highly developed and delicate" prewar economic machine was made of: nearly one half of the world's trade; nearly two thirds of the world's shipping; income from vast foreign investments "gradually built up

over the centuries"; intensive farming techniques depending on use of fertilizers and imported feeds; coal, steel, and chemicals; specialized production for each country; smooth-working international trade, and uninterrupted flow of goods and services.

Prewar Europe had its trade barriers and its economic kinks and divisions. But it was a delicate, close-knit economic machine made to work as a unit.

Europe's economic machine also was a part of a larger economic mechanism. Much of its food and timber, for instance, came from eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Much of its food too came from southeast Asia. Furthermore, Europe sold colonial produce from its rich southeast Asia holdings to the United States and other countries for dollars. With the dollars, it bought American exports. These trade arrangements were among the basic balances of the international trade apparatus. All of Europe's ramified external trade was part of the world pattern.

But war devastated eastern Europe and lowered an economic "iron curtain" across the continent. Cutting off of timber—and food—from these areas has had "serious consequences for the basic industries of western Europe." And war and its aftermath have transformed southeast Asia from a vast and wealthy cornucopia to a seething, strife-ridden caldron—temporarily, at least, a net consumer, instead of producer of food.

When the war ended, Europe was "perhaps more denuded of resources than at any time in modern history." And its economic machine was a wreck. "The devastated countries," this report says simply, "had to start again almost from the beginning."

That was two years ago. Since then, these setbacks have been added: heavy American price increases; depletion of Europe's gold and dollar reserves; "continued shortage of coal"; "world-wide prolonged shortage of food"; new troubles in

southeast Asia. All these have reached a culmination in the present cataclysmic crisis.

Without aid, Europe appears headed for an early and complete economic collapse. That would be a catastrophe. And it would bring other great catastrophes in its wake—such as Soviet domination of that entire and prostrate continent.

How Urgent Is Europe's Need?

Flow of supplies to Europe must be maintained. Without these running supplies, economic life comes to a stop "and the working capital of Europe . . . will be exhausted."

Exactly what does that mean? For just one example: If Europe can't get food from abroad, its people will have to slaughter their livestock to keep alive. Livestock is working capital. It reproduces itself. Wipe out the herds and Europe's food position will be much more desperate—and much harder to retrieve—than before.

"One country after another is already being forced by lack of dollars to cut down vital imports of food and raw materials."

Nations do not do things like that for sheer propaganda aimed at the United States. These things are the beginnings of catastrophe. Six months hence may be too late.

What Will Europe Produce?

The sixteen nations have fitted together into a four-year plan (1948-1951) their proposed individual and collective steps to get Europe on its feet with American help. This plan has two parts:

Production targets—expanding output and modernizing plant.

Pledges of other measures—such as balancing national budgets, stabilizing domestic economies, and removing trade barriers.

Production plans are focused on those fields that form "the basis of economic

life": food, agriculture, fuel, power, steel, timber, and transport—together with such related industries as agricultural and mining machinery, and the labor problem.

Here is the plan:

1. Food—By 1951 restore grain and cereal production to prewar levels. Boost sugar and potato output well above prewar levels, oil and fats output somewhat above prewar. Expand livestock products as fast as feed supplies will allow.

How: Restore soil fertility by strong nitrogen fertilizers. Europe's production of these already is above the prewar level; it will be doubled by 1951; less and less fertilizer will have to be imported from the American continent. Keep food consumption down to carefully fixed limits—below prewar levels—and share expanding output among the sixteen nations.

2. Coal—Expand output from 439,000,000 tons in 1947 to 584,000,000 tons in 1951, or 30,000,000 tons above 1938 levels.

How: Raise Ruhr output levels. Expand imports of wooden pit props from Sweden. Expand Europe's coal labor force. Push capital development, including sinking of some twenty new mines. Install more mechanized equipment.

These steps will require more than \$1,000,000,000 of new mining machinery and supplies—but "virtually all" of it will be produced in Britain.

3. Power—Expand electric output capacity two thirds above the prewar level. Boost output 40 per cent above 1947 level.

How: Forget national frontiers and old quarrels and build co-operatively six plants to harness water power in Italy, France, and on the Austro-Italo-Swiss frontier; two lignite thermal plants in Germany; and one geothermal plant in Italy.

4. Oil—Expand oil-refining capacity to $2\frac{1}{2}$ times prewar level. This will cope with increased uses, help the coal situation, and reduce the foreign exchange burden.

How: By installing new plants and machinery, two thirds of which Europe

will produce. (Oil must be imported. Western Europe has virtually none.)

5. Steel—Expand crude steel output to 80 per cent above 1947 (20 per cent above 1938) to a total level of 55,000,000 tons.

How: Cut the hard-coke bottleneck by (a) diverting coke from nonmetallurgical uses; (b) using richer iron ores in blast furnaces; (c) importing more coking coal in place of other coal from Poland and the United States; (d) adopting an increased carbonization rate and coke export level for western Germany. These steps "demand a high degree of co-operation."

Europe undertakes to produce "most of the plant required" except for special items such as continuous wide-strip mills. The nations also promise to keep one another informed so they can keep their steel programs fitted together.

6. Transport—Expand inland transport facilities to 25 per cent above 1938.

How: Increase locomotive and freight-car production (based on better steel output). Keep passenger-car requirements to a minimum and build 90 per cent of Europe's needs in Europe. Try to standardize freight-car design and set up a European freight-car pool. (These have been referred to special agencies for study.)

7. Shipping—Restore prewar tonnage by 1951.

How: Buy part of the ships, but build "a far larger tonnage" in European shipyards. (Participating countries must expand their fleets enough to meet loss of western Germany's.)

8. Capital goods—Supply from European production most of the capital equipment needed for this program.

How: Despite wartime overcutting of forests, the nations promise to increase timber production 10 per cent during 1948 and 1949. They will continue efforts to utilize idle displaced persons and Italy's surplus of 2,000,000 workers to make up the continent's labor shortages. Produc-

tion plans for other capital equipment already have been noted.

What Pledges?

That is quite a program. But the sixteen nations also pledge themselves to some other things. They note that ways of carrying out the program "will vary from country to country" (a significant reminder that they—not American administrators—are expected to run it). But then they make these specific promises:

Each Government to "use all its efforts" to develop national production.

Each to carry out all fiscal and currency steps "within its power" to balance budgets and stabilize currency.

To abolish "as soon as possible" abnormal trade restrictions. But the present crisis prevents any immediate action.

To "aim" at a multilateral trading system.

The sixteen nations "to play their full part" in world-wide reduction of tariffs.

To try to work toward an eventual customs union. Several regional unions—including one built around France and Italy—already are under negotiation.

To maintain a continuing organization—until the end of the program—to check progress and spur co-operation.

To make their currencies freely convertible—francs into shillings, shillings into guilders, guilders into drachmas, etc.

To use the proposed \$3,000,000,000 stabilization fund—presumably from the United States—"for this purpose only."

To keep consumption of food, clothing, gasoline, and other necessities strictly limited, in some countries by rationing.

What Kind of Aid?

This ambitious recovery program depends squarely upon this outstanding assumption—prompt, large, and continuous American aid. The sixteen nations frankly say, "We can't do it alone." Europe needs two tangible things from the United

States to power its recovery program—money and goods.

Its money requirements are of two kinds: First is credit to balance the four-year combined trade deficit of the sixteen nations, their dependent territories, and western Germany with the American continent. Second is a special fund to stabilize European currencies.

This four-year trade deficit is expected to total \$22,440,000,000 as follows:

1948.....	\$ 8,040,000,000
1949.....	6,350,000,000
1950.....	4,650,000,000
1951.....	3,400,000,000
Total.....	<u>\$22,440,000,000</u>

Of this total, \$3,130,000,000 is expected to come from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Thus, \$19,310,000,000 must come from the Americas. Perhaps \$3,500,000,000 of it will come from American countries other than the United States. That leaves about \$15,810,000,000 from the United States.

So much for the trade deficit. On top of that, the sixteen nations report they need a \$3,000,000,000 fund for currency stabilization—and they need all of it right away.

With the exception of the Stabilization Fund, all these billions will be used, of course, to buy goods. What kind of goods? Here is a list of specific items, culled from the report, which Europe must get from the American continent: nitrogen; fertilizers; animal feedstuffs; food; coal; freight cars and passenger coaches; ships; timber; oil products; shipping services; steel; tin plate; machinery (especially oil and steel plant equipment, spare parts, and agricultural machinery), and a wide range of raw materials.

These enormous needs, of course, do not represent an entirely new drain on the American economy. Already the United States has been exporting billions of dollars' worth of food, manufactured goods, and capital equipment—much of it

to Europe. Such exports are falling off now. The Marshall Plan would revive them and step them up. It would place the emphasis on capital equipment, machinery, and raw materials. But this summer's food crisis will keep grain and food exports high too.

Europe will need these things in diminishing quantities over the four-year period. The big surge of goods is needed now and next year—to get the ball rolling. Gradually Europe's needs will diminish.

One other major thing Europe needs from the United States—a trade policy that will let Europe earn dollars by selling goods to the United States. On this point the report is very emphatic.

"The maladjustment can never be corrected on a basis of expanding trade," say the conferees, "unless market conditions in the American continent permit Europe to sell goods there in steadily increasing quantities." They add also that the United States must "permit other countries to earn dollars there and use them to purchase from Europe."

American tariff and trade policies will need some shifting and overhauling to permit such trade. This means scaling down tariffs in places where it hurts. It means competition for American business. It may mean politically unpopular moves. But without American markets, Europe never can earn dollars. Without dollars it cannot buy American goods. Without such goods, it cannot survive. Without such trade, it cannot recover.

Can Plan Work?

Europe thinks it can. The CEEC powers are staking their recovery on it. The report says that such a program is comparable to American productive expansion during the mobilization of 1940-1944.

The most important assumptions are:

That American aid will come promptly.

That there will be a continuous flow of American goods during the four-year period.

That the American continent will be a market for European goods.

That trade gradually and steadily will be resumed with eastern Europe—the timber areas, the Danube granary, the Polish coal mines.

That prices of American goods will not go up much beyond the July 1, 1947, figure. All costs are calculated at that level. A change of only 10 per cent in Europe's import prices, however, "is equivalent to nearly \$1,000,000,000 a year."

That there will be "steady recovery" of Asiatic supplies, adding to Europe's supply sources and reducing the drain on world food.

That each of the sixteen nations, despite bitter ideological and political divisions within, can gather itself for a maximum effort.

That all sixteen can continue dovetailing their progress, each one doing its part. The "controlling principle" is "interdependence." "They must proceed together."

That Russia and its Communist followers will not make active industrial war against the program by strikes, etc.

That the scheduled agricultural program will be a success.

That Britain's coal-export program, set for amounts rising to 29,000,000 tons in 1951, will be successful.

That Ruhr coal production can be brought up to scheduled levels (which are moderate) and that no German treaty will upset the plan.

That general world economic conditions will favor European recovery. "As the four-year period develops, the world considerations rather than those of European production itself will be decisive."

These are big assumptions. Some of them may be too optimistic, some too pessimistic. The estimated cost and duration of the Marshall Plan depends upon them.

Could there be any more convincing evidence that men simply must learn to work together in order to achieve a prosperous world?

About Books

They Did It in Indiana. The Story of the Indiana Farm Bureau Co-operatives, by Paul Turner. The Dryden Press. \$2.25.

Here is another thrilling chapter of modern history which records what common people can do for themselves and others by working together.

Mr. Turner's book is scholarly and fair in probing and evaluating the success and failures of Indiana farmers' co-operative development, but he writes always with an undercurrent of missionary zeal.

The rural Church is given much credit for the success of the movement: it provided most of the people who were able to teach co-operative ideas and methods; who were motivated and willing to apply "bear ye one another's burdens"; and who saw that the "uncurbed profit motive, whereby men exploit their neighbors without shame, does not conform to the teachings of Jesus."

The superiority of co-operatives over business-for-profits is seen by Mr. Turner in eight ways: (1) People learn to help themselves; (2) fair prices and fair quality are set by the customers; (3) economic stability is aided: for co-ops produce for a known market, and they increase the buying power of all their patrons; (4) people are protected from big business, as the co-op serves as a yardstick for fair dealings. "The strategic value of a co-operative, to its members and patrons, is that it cannot compromise the welfare of its patrons for its own business advantage"; (5) it also gives protection from big Government, by showing people how to meet their economic crises with least possible Government aid and dictation; (6) being owned by the people, on a voting equality, it permits democratic control of policies and management; (7) it promotes harmony by decreasing competitive business, recreation, religion, and education;

(8) profits are returned to the small community, not drained off, increasing its assets.

The thrilling history of the Co-operative Association's battle to break the fertilizer monopoly, a novel approach to the task of trust busting, is told in detail. Likewise, the story of how the co-operative out-scienced the Agricultural Experiment Stations (working with their experts) in developing procedures for the hatchery business which would provide farmers with 98 per cent disease-free chicks.

Since 1933, fourteen years after their feeble, unsteady beginnings, the Indiana Farm Bureau Co-operatives have so proven their value, present and future, that they are assured of the sacrificial, intelligent support of their 100,000 members and are able to enter any new fields of service they choose.

CHARLES G. WORKMAN

American Planning, by Cleveland Rodgers. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$3.00.

The author of *American Planning* has tried to find what has come about because of planning in the history of our country; to discuss the obstacles that have prevented more effective national planning; and then to give a forecast of what an enlightened policy of planning could mean to the future. Some of the historic interpretations are unusual: "The record seems clear that the states became united, a federal government created and George Washington elected our first president as a sequence, if not as a consequence, of his plan for better transportation to the west." There is a constant interweaving of economics which gives meaning to the history and geography. The question arises as to why certain fine harbors have not been more fully utilized, then: "The story of

American railroads and freight rates had more to do with developing our ports than Nature herself."

His point of view, regarding the most stubborn obstacle in the way of national planning, will interest readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS: "National planning from the days of George Washington to the present has been frustrated in large measure by failure to solve the problem of the Negro in the United States."

Maybe some creative preacher can take this book as a text for World Order Sunday. He could begin with John Quincy Adams' statement about the "American Union as a moral person in the family of nations," and perhaps conclude with Rodgers' remark: "We are, or can be, the greatest moral force in a forward movement toward a new kind of civilization."

Mr. Rodgers has been one of the active leaders in the cause of planning in this country and is the former vice-president of the American Society of Planning Officials. The book would have been improved if the author had written it from his own point of view. Writing from the point of view of a young aviator does not add interest and it does detract from readability. However, it is a good job of bringing to the lay reader an understanding of the significance of national planning—both its history and its future.

EVELYN LUCHS

Render Unto the People, by Umphrey Lee. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$1.50.

This volume is basically concerned with the future of the Church, particularly Protestantism, in a national state of democratic character such as our own.

Using the Scopes trial as a historic incident in which the jurisdiction of the state over education was vindicated in America, President Lee launches out into the question of the power of the state over the teaching of religion. He feels this question is destined to become increasingly important.

He devotes two thought-provoking chapters to the difficulties of achieving any satisfactory system of religious education either in relation to the public schools or in the field of higher education.

He then returns to the basic question of Church and State. He feels that the pulpit should have no restraints upon the "liberty of prophesying," though he tends to feel much "social gospel" preaching may be very unwise, causing congregations to suffer many fools. The importance of taking Protestant pronouncements in the social-action field for what they are (majority opinions of Church conferences) is stressed.

Final attention is given to the unique and permanent contributions of religion to the body politic: the importance of worship; of concern for persons as ends, not means; of the development within the Church of such prophetic personalities as George Fox. Finally, he notes that the priestly element in religion is important also, and has a contribution to make through giving people a sense of belonging in an increasingly atomized society and by enabling them to conform when conformity means the preservation of democratic procedures.

This is a very thought-provoking book from a keen mind interested in important issues from the background of wide reading in the standard authors in the field dealt with. Abingdon-Cokesbury is to be congratulated on its publication.

JAMES GOLDEN MILLER

The Willow and the Bridge, by Toyohiko Kagawa and Franklin Cole. Association Press. \$1.50.

"This occupation is unique in all history." With these words to the reviewer in September, 1946, Toyohiko Kagawa began a brief analysis of the American military occupation of Japan and the reaction of the Japanese people to it. We were sitting Japanese style on the mat floor in the home of the pastor of the Presbyterian

Church in Kamakura. The proximity thus provided gave a revealing insight into the character of Kagawa, named by some as one of the three greatest Christians in this generation. One of his most winning qualities was that he had apparently no sense of personal superiority.

The Willow and the Bridge consists of poems and meditations by Dr. Kagawa and Franklin Cole, who served during the war as a chaplain in the United States Naval Reserve. Chaplain Cole, now returned to his New York pastorate and radio ministry with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, was aboard one of the ships of the Advance Task Force of Halsey's Third Fleet which entered Tokyo Bay on August 28, 1945. He spent the first night in Tokyo Bay writing the sonnet "To Kagawa." A few days later he was the first American chaplain to visit Kagawa.

Those who are acquainted with Dr. Kagawa's earlier *Songs from the Slums* will recognize the same sensitivity to human suffering and sin, yet in these poems and meditations a more mature man appears. Kagawa seems now to understand.

Dr. Kagawa uses an art form with which he is familiar. It is well known how difficult it is to translate the fine shades of thought and feeling expressed in much Japanese poetry. Yet this English version has an authentically delicate flavor of Japan in it. Dr. Kagawa's mind is not always so easy to enter as Dr. Cole's; indeed the reader himself must assist in building the bridge. He who so builds helps to lift the trailing tresses of the willow upward in prayer. One man, Franklin Cole, has built his bridge when he can write the following lines:

I removed my shoes
And stepped into a home.
There I found . . .
Faith's tokonoma;
A scroll of simple beauty
With canary on a bamboo twig;

Three flowers that harmonized and sang
of Earth and Man and Heaven;
The sunlit tea of friendship,
Blessing and uniting
Two men of East and West.
I'm glad that I removed my shoes.

RICHARD H. DRUMMOND

His Word Through Preaching, by Gerald Kennedy. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$2.50.

The author is at present pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, Lincoln, Nebraska. He has been an acting professor of homiletics at the Pacific School of Religion, and in 1946 delivered a series of lectures on preaching at Union Theological Seminary, New York City. It is a book for preachers, old and young. Each chapter has an intriguing theme—and a Scripture text if one wants to get a sermon from the content! Part One deals with the method: "Discipline and Art." Part Two deals with the message: "Timeless and Contemporary." This is a helpful book to any preacher who wants to grow through wise, broad counsel. The author writes, of course, from the standpoint of his own experience, but he calls upon others freely with a catholicity of taste that recommends his counsel. He laments, as many do, the loss of authority in preaching and preachers. But with a sure instinct he puts his finger on the source of the trouble: preachers are not authors, creators, workers with experience, who alone can have authority. This power that we admire in others, and find in our Master, is not something bestowed by ordination or granted because of position. It is rather the fruit of persistent work in and out of the pulpit. In the chapter "After I Have Preached to Others," the author discusses the temptations of the ministry realistically. Throughout the book he exalts the office, the prophetic tradition, in accordance with the history of religion, giving most practical suggestions, such as the Ten Commandments for preachers at

the end of Part One. This book can help all preachers to face the question: How hardly shall they who love preaching be agents in God's hand for his bringing the Kingdom?

JOHN C. WHITE

All About Us, by Eva Knox Evans. Capitol Publishing Company, Inc. \$2.00.

This delightful little book is designed to instill in boys and girls a sense of the common origin and essential unity of the human race, and to help them to understand and view in perspective such differences among people as language, custom, and physical appearance. It is comparable in many ways to the *Races of Mankind* pamphlet, but is thoroughly a children's book.

Beginning with the "great-great-whocan-tell-how-many-greats grandmothers and grandfathers" of us all, the story of the Siggles and the Biggles, the Sogs and the Gogs, as they go their separate ways across the earth, reads like a fairy tale. Woven unobtrusively into the story are scientific facts about blood type, customs, and skin color which emerge quietly and slip almost unnoticed into the subconscious. With its large attractive type, its simple, charming style from the pen of a skilled and experienced writer of children's stories, and the excellent illustrations by Vana Earle, *All About Us* is suitable to be read either by or to boys and girls.

As the book was prepared to be used by families of any or no explicit religious faith, it does not tell *all* about us but omits what both Christians and Jews feel to be the most important fact—that "God created man in his own image." Christian parents will wisely accompany the reading of the book with a thoughtful discussion of the essential truths in the Genesis story. Beginning with the simple statement that "people began a long time ago, so long that no one at all knows just when," the story lends itself readily to this use as an effective tool in Christian nurture.

All About Us should be in the library of every Church School. It should be used widely by both teachers and parents. It would be a most appropriate Christmas gift for boys and girls. And this reviewer is probably not the first minister to find in *All About Us* the rudiments for a series of children's sermons. NEVIN KENDELL

The Questing Spirit, selected and edited by Halford E. Luccock and Frances Brentano. Coward-McCann, Inc. \$5.00.

This is an anthology of religion in the literature of our time. Selections are from British and American authors of the twentieth century. Short stories take about one third of the space, poems about one third, drama about one sixth, and "affirmations" about one sixth. There are over seven hundred pages.

The guiding principle of selection is good literature plus a definitely religious temper. Doubt and denial are included, also humor and satire, but aspiration and faith are the prevailing mood. Theologically, the range is from G. K. Chesterton to Bertrand Russell.

The book is designed to show, and does show, that despite the materialism, scientism, and secularism of our day, despite the forgotten orthodoxies and abandoned morals, man is "incurably religious" and even the best and most "modern" minds long for the eternal. Evidence of a "return to religion," if not of a return to any particular religion except the mystical, may be found here in abundance.

It is an excellently selected and arranged anthology, and a useful, but by no means indispensable, book. It has been overrated in many reviews. It is only an anthology, most of its sources are readily available in any good library, and the material makes the same impression as the better books and magazines which come to the religious worker's desk each week. After all, at least to the minister or religious worker, the best anthology is one's own.

M. WILLARD LAMPE

Atomic War or Peace *

By Albert Einstein

As told to RAYMOND SWING

SINCE the completion of the first atomic bomb nothing has been accomplished to make the world more safe from war, while much has been done to increase the destructiveness of war. I am not able to speak from any firsthand knowledge about the development of the atomic bomb, since I do not work in this field. But enough has been said by those who do to indicate that the bomb has been made more effective. Certainly the possibility can be envisaged of building a bomb of far greater size, capable of producing destruction over a larger area. It also is credible that an extensive use could be made of radioactivated gases which would spread over a wide region, causing heavy loss of life without damage to buildings.

I do not believe it is necessary to go on beyond these possibilities to contemplate a vast extension of bacteriological warfare. I am skeptical that this form presents dangers comparable with those of atomic warfare. Nor do I take into account a danger of starting a chain of a scope great enough to destroy part or all of this planet. I dismiss this on the ground that if it could happen from

a man-made atomic explosion it would already have happened from the action of the cosmic rays which are continually reaching the earth's surface.

But it is not necessary to imagine the earth being destroyed like a nova by a stellar explosion to understand vividly the growing scope of atomic war and to recognize that unless another war is prevented it is likely to bring destruction on a scale never before held possible and even now hardly conceived, and that little civilization would survive it.

In the first two years of the atomic era another phenomenon is to be noted. The public, having been warned of the horrible nature of atomic warfare, has done nothing about it, and to a large extent has dismissed the warning from its consciousness. A danger that cannot be averted had perhaps better be forgotten; or a danger against which every possible precaution has been taken also had probably better be forgotten. That is, if the United States had dispersed its industries and decentralized its cities, it might be reasonable for people to forget the peril they face.

I should say parenthetically that it is well that this country has not

* Reprint of Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists from *The Atlantic Monthly*. Used with permission.

taken these precautions, for to have done so would make atomic war still more probable, since it would convince the rest of the world that we are resigned to it and are preparing for it. But nothing has been done to avert war, while much has been done to make atomic war more horrible; so there is no excuse for ignoring the danger.

I say that nothing has been done to avert war since the completion of the atomic bomb, despite the proposal for supranational control of atomic energy put forward by the United States in the United Nations. This country has made only a conditional proposal, and on conditions which the Soviet Union is now determined not to accept. This makes it possible to blame the failure on the Russians.

But in blaming the Russians the Americans should not ignore the fact that they themselves have not voluntarily renounced the use of the bomb as an ordinary weapon in the time before the achievement of supranational control, or if supranational control is not achieved. Thus they have fed the fear of other countries that they consider the bomb a legitimate part of their arsenal so long as other countries decline to accept their terms for supranational control.

Americans may be convinced of their determination not to launch an aggressive or preventive war. So they may believe it is superfluous to an-

ounce publicly that they will not a second time be the first to use the atomic bomb. But this country has been solemnly invited to renounce the use of the bomb—that is, to outlaw it—and has declined to do so unless its terms for supranational control are accepted.

I believe this policy is a mistake. I see a certain military gain from not renouncing the use of the bomb in that this may be deemed to restrain another country from starting a war in which the United States might use it. But what is gained in one way is lost in another. For an understanding over the supranational control of atomic energy has been made more remote. That may be no military drawback so long as the United States has the exclusive use of the bomb. But the moment another country is able to make it in substantial quantities, the United States loses greatly through the absence of an international agreement, because of the vulnerability of its concentrated industries and its highly developed urban life.

In refusing to outlaw the bomb while having the monopoly of it, this country suffers in another respect, in that it fails to return publicly to the ethical standards of warfare formally accepted previous to the last war. It should not be forgotten that the atomic bomb was made in this country as a preventive measure; it was to head off its use

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Hope for a Despairing World

*By John Sutherland Bonnell **

If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?—Ps. 11:3.

A PROMINENT leader in Washington said recently that man must obtain "a sufficient mastery of nature so that permanent world peace will be a reality and not a mere hopeful expression of faith."

That observation, it seems to me, misses the central issue. Many of our most baffling problems today are due to the fact that man has achieved a mastery of nature, a mastery that now threatens to reduce our civilization to "a vast, slightly radioactive wilderness, devoid of human life."

What man needs is not a greater mastery of nature, but a mastery of himself, and of those destructive tendencies that are separating the nations into hostile warring camps.

"If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?"

Well, the foundations are being destroyed before our eyes today. The civilization that this generation has known is passing into eclipse, and the shape of the new one has not yet emerged.

In the last five years a succession of world-shaking events has transpired. Here are a few of them:

* Minister, Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City. Sermon. Used with permission.

Germany disappeared as a great nation. Japan ceased to exist as a world power. China is awakening to her opportunity for world power. The atomic age was ushered in. Russia emerged from centuries of eclipse to become a first-class world power. The United Nations organization came into being. Any one of these six events might be regarded as an epoch in the course of a hundred years, yet all of them have happened in half a decade.

The most important development of all I have not mentioned with these six: The common man all around the world is awakening to a realization of his right to freedom and self-determination. Revolutionary propaganda is accelerating the process.

We are so close to present-day events that the average man or woman has little understanding of the events happening before our eyes. Like Rip Van Winkle, we are sleeping through a revolution.

Have you noticed what is happening in China, in Burma, in the Dutch East Indies, in the Philippines, in India, in South America, in Egypt, in Palestine, in French Morocco, and even in such conservative nations as Italy and France?

The entire world is in ferment today. We are living in a changing age. There is a seething unrest among the masses, especially in colonial countries. They are demanding the right to self-rule everywhere, and the privilege of developing their own national resources.

Dr. Soong, President Executive of China's Nationalist Government, said recently, "Asia is tired of being regarded only in terms of markets and concessions or as a source of rubber, tin, and oil, or as furnishing human chattels to work the raw materials." One can feel the intensity behind these words. There is revolt in every corner of the world against the supremacy of the white race.

During the second half of the eighteenth century the world witnessed two great revolutions: the American, and, later, the French, but the total effect of these two upheavals combined would be insignificant in comparison with the revolution that is happening at this time. Now, there are some people who will tell you that it is just a temporary unrest, and if expedients are applied here and there, it will all end in placidity and peace.

Did you ever hear of Dame Partington? She was referred to in the British House of Commons by George Canning, onetime prime minister. Dame Partington lived in Sidmouth, England, in 1824. There was a great flood that year. It was so great that it swept over a consider-

able part of England. The Atlantic Ocean rolled into Sidmouth, coming right to the doors of the people. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm Dame Partington was seen on the doorstep of her house on the beach. She had a pail and a mop. She dipped her mop into the sea water that was flooding her home and wrung it out on her doorstep. Said Mr. Canning: "The Atlantic Ocean was aroused, and the spirits of Dame Partington were up, but it is needless to say that the contest was rather unequal. The Atlantic Ocean won."

It is as futile to suggest that any temporary alleviative will stem these vast movements toward human freedom as it was for Dame Partington to tackle the Atlantic Ocean single-handed with her mop.

If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?

What are the people who believe in God to do? What prophetic word has Christianity to utter in this time of crisis? Some people are saying: "Let the Church retire within itself and forget the outside world. Let it develop a kind of pietism and concentrate on individual religion." That is exactly what happened in Germany. That is the reason the Nazis were able to paganize the nation and prepare for a global war. The Church retired within itself and said, "The affairs of the world don't concern us."

One of the main reasons Martin Niemoeller spent eight years in a concentration camp was that he was one of the few German Christian leaders with vision enough to realize what was happening in the nation. He read and interpreted the handwriting on the wall.

A similar policy of retirement within itself has been adopted by the Orthodox Church in Russia. That is the only reason the Soviet Government permits it to continue. A totalitarian regime tolerates only that which is of some use to it, and the Orthodox Church is now of use to the Russian Government. So its members are allowed to say their prayers, to sing hymns in the church, and to kneel in corporate worship. But no word must be spoken in criticism of Government policies within the nation or outside it. The Church must remain silent, even though its leaders believe that the policy of their Government is an imminent threat to the peace of the world. There you have a perfect illustration of the perils of individual religion that is blind to larger issues.

What I am pleading for is an intelligent Christian approach to national and international problems. It is important that Christians be informed on what is happening in the world, and that the Church not be made a tool of the State.

"If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?"

What can Christians do? Well, if they have faith in God and are zealous for the Kingdom of Christ, they may take heart, because they will see that the period in which we now live is remarkably similar to the day in which Christ came with his gospel of the Kingdom of God.

In the years preceding the downfall of the Roman Empire there was the same seething unrest, the same cry of spiritual desolation.

It was a despairing world into which Jesus came two thousand years ago. It "had rotted down its ideals through luxury and self-indulgence, arrogance and avarice. Doubts, skepticism, and despair were on every hand. It was a world of shame and decay, of sensuality and senile despair." Into this world, so dark and hopeless, came Christ with his gospel of love and of brotherhood and of self-sacrifice. From the hour that he hung upon the cross and rose triumphant from the dead, hope was born in human hearts.

The apostles of Christ set forth into every corner of the decadent Roman Empire with the good news of God's Kingdom, calling on all men to repent that they might become the children of that Kingdom.

The Christian Gospel goes far beyond Marxism in meeting the needs of the world. It declares that there must be a reformation of individual character before we are fit to be citizens of God's Kingdom.

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What Is Loyalty? A Difficult Question

*By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.**

WE HAVE heard a good deal in recent months about loyalty and Americanism. Spokesmen on one side proclaim that the American way of life is in imminent danger from anyone who questions the eternal rightness of the capitalist system. Spokesmen on the other side proclaim that a sinister witch hunt is already transforming the United States into a totalitarian police state.

The situation cries out for a little less hysteria, a little more common sense. A calm survey surely reveals two propositions on which we can all agree: (1) that Americanism is not a totalitarian faith, which can impose a single economic or political dogma or require a uniformity in observance from all its devotees; but (2) that a serious problem for national security has been created by that fanatical group which rejects all American interests in favor of those of the Soviet Union.

In other words, the disciples of the Un-American Activities Committee and the leadership of the American Legion must be reminded that Americanism means something far richer and deeper than submission to their own collection of petty prejudices; and civil libertarians who honestly fear a witch hunt must be

reminded that in an imperfect world of spies and traitors a Government must be conceded the right of self-protection. We see here an inescapable conflict between civil liberty and national security, and we must face up to the problem of resolving the conflict.

What is Americanism? To get quickly to what its loudest exponents seem to regard as its basic point—private enterprise—there is nothing un-American about criticizing the capitalist system. Let us reveal the hideous secret: capitalism was not handed down with the Ten Commandments at Sinai. The Constitution of the United States does not ordain the economic *status quo*. It can well be argued that there is nothing in our fundamental law to prevent Congress from socializing all basic industry tomorrow; there is certainly nothing in our state laws to prevent public ownership.

Are we to assume that revelations concerning the sacrosanctity of private capitalism have been vouchsafed to the NAM and to the Republican party which were denied to the Founding Fathers? More than this, the basic tradition in American democracy—the tradition associated with such names as Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson, and the two Roosevelts—has been a fight on behalf of the

* Professor of history, Harvard University. Reprinted from *The New York Times Magazine*, November 2, 1947. Used with permission.

broad masses against the economic excesses of capitalism and against the political aspirations of the business community.

It is even hard to argue that assertion of the right of revolution is un-American. According to that once respected document, the Declaration of Independence, when a government becomes injurious to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, "it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

James Wilson, one of the fathers of the Constitution and perhaps a greater authority on it than the chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, declared: "A revolution principle certainly is, and certainly should be taught as, a principle of the Constitution of the United States." Surely no one like Congressman Rankin, who holds General Robert E. Lee and his colleagues in pious veneration, has much ground for stickling at the thought of armed rebellion.

This insistence on the infallibility of capitalism and on the heresy of change finds no sanction in the usages of the American democratic tradition. It reaches its pinnacle of imbecility in such episodes as the attack on the film *The Best Years of Our Lives* as Communist-minded be-

cause it makes fun of the American businessman, or in the standards employed by the Un-American Committee in their current Hollywood investigation. What havoc the rigid identification of Americanism with business worship would wreak upon the history and traditions of our country! Yet this very identification pervades altogether too much of the popular campaign against Communism. Many conservatives are happily pouncing upon the Communist scare as an excuse for silencing all critics of business supremacy.

But those who believe that the agitation over Communism is only a pretext for purging liberals—that this is a repetition of A. Mitchell Palmer and the red raids—are themselves mistaking a part for the whole. Times have changed a good deal since A. Mitchell Palmer. In 1919 the U.S.S.R. was a torn and struggling nation with its back to the wall. Today Soviet totalitarianism is massive, well-organized, and on the march. Its spies and agents are ubiquitous. We face here not just a figment of the reactionary imagination but a proved problem for the security of free nations.

Experience by now must have exposed the illusion that it is possible to work with Communists or fellow travelers—with persons whose loyalties are signed, sealed, and delivered elsewhere. President Gonzales Videla, of Chile, and Joe Curran, of

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Government Control of Liquor

*By R. C. Chalmers**

ONE of Canada's richest corporations, the \$200,000,000 Distillers Corporation-Seagram's Ltd., has recently released its financial statement for the year ending July 31, 1947. This corporation sold \$618,135,479 worth of whiskies in Canada, U.S.A., and overseas in the twelve months ending July 31. After paying income and excess profits taxes of \$30,915,263, this corporation reaped a net profit of \$43,112,502 compared with \$24,530,122 for the previous year—an increase of 76 per cent. While The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., the world's largest grocers, operated last year on a profit ratio to sales of only 1.6 per cent, this liquor corporation made a profit of approximately 14 cents on every dollar's worth of sales. Yet it is Distillers Corporation-Seagram's Ltd. which in its advertising urges moderation in drinking. One of its recent advertisements reads: "Whisky cannot take the place of milk, bread, or meat. . . . [We] do not want a dollar that should be spent for the necessities of life." But the annual report of this corporation goes on to say that they are reinvesting some of their profits "chiefly by substantial additions to

the whisky inventories." On the one hand we have this corporation saying that they do not want "a dollar that should be spent for the necessities of life." On the other hand we have them making plans for increased production. Here is one instance where action speaks louder than words.

One of our ministers said in 1944 that "the most dangerous enemy we face is not the drinker's thirst for alcohol; it is the seller's thirst for gold." It is this fact which led The United Church of Canada, meeting in General Council, 1944, to pass the following resolution: "Whereas it is now apparent that the immense financial revenues behind the liquor traffic constitute the greatest obstacle to its being handled effectively, this council hereby approves of the principle of nationalization of the alcohol industry. The profits thereto should be so applied as to avoid corrupting Governments or entrenching the traffic behind public revenues. Nationalization, as a means to eliminating the profit motive and private monopoly control, should not be regarded as a final solution of the liquor problem but a forward step toward such a solution."

We do not believe that Government control in itself is the cure-all for the liquor problem, but we be-

* Associate Secretary, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, The United Church of Canada.

lieve that it is a "forward step," and this for the following reasons:

1. It will eliminate the profit motive from the liquor business. One does not have to be a socialist to see that it is one thing to seek by legitimate methods to increase the sales of, let us say, bread or tea or clothing, and consequently reap a profit as well as supply human needs, but that it is quite another thing to promote the sales of alcoholic beverages and derive increased profits from such sales, since alcohol is responsible for, or connected with, so much evil in the world. Many people who would not support Government control of many industries are nevertheless coming to see that it is such control that is necessary to curb this traffic and its "thirst for gold."

Here is another example of how the profit motive works in the liquor industry. In April, 1946, E. P. Taylor, head of Canadian Breweries Ltd., which has ten breweries in Canada and one in Cleveland, said that his company proposed to spend \$7,500,000 enlarging its Canadian capacity fifty per cent and its American capacity one hundred per cent. He stated that other breweries would also be expanding their capacities. Mr. Taylor said that he believed this proposed expansion of his liquor industry would "make for more overall consumption but less overconsumption at one time by individuals," thus telling us that the unwritten slogan of private corpora-

tions in the liquor business is "more drinkers drinking more." It was this same corporation—Canadian Breweries Ltd.—which announced on a previous occasion that "our earnings in 1944 were \$5,000,000; in 1945, eight and a half million; and in 1946 we anticipated twelve million, of which six million will be clear cash profit." Is it any wonder that the Rockefeller Commission, which reported on liquor control in 1933, stated that "only as the profit motive is eliminated is there any hope of controlling the liquor traffic in the interest of a decent society. To approach the problem from any other angle is only to insure failure. This point cannot be too heavily stressed."

2. Government control of the liquor industry is the best way to eliminate monopoly control which has become a serious factor in promoting the increase of the beverage alcohol trade.

In 1946, \$100,000,000 was spent on liquor advertising in the United States. Nearly all of this advertising cost was paid by the Big Four in the liquor business, which control 80 per cent of the liquor industry on this continent, two of these monopoly interests having their head offices in Canada.

The Big Four are: National Distillers Products Corporation, Schenley Distillers Corporation, Distillers Corporation-Seagram's Ltd., and

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The New Life Movement and Social Problems

By George E. Sweazey *

THE New Life Movement is the united endeavor of our Church to extend Christian faith and living. It is therefore the most direct form of social action.

Mankind could be saved from the suffering and evil and terror of these times by the principles of Jesus Christ. It is not being saved for two reasons: (1) There are not enough Christians in the world; and (2) those who are Christians are not effective enough. The New Life Movement is aimed straight at both of these conditions.

1. Its great purpose is to win more people in the world to faith in Jesus Christ and in his teachings. It is making the Church better able to do this. It is calling every Church member to share his faith, and showing him how to do it.

That is social action. The man who is talking of Christian things to a neighbor, the person who is bringing a friend to Church, the Sunday School teacher, the women's group which is trying to attract women from outside the Church—these are going straight to the heart of the social problem. The first way to get Christian social action is to get Christians.

It is true that in every community there are people of good will who make no profession of Christian faith, but we cannot build a Christian social order on them. For the ultimate success of Christian opinion we can put our trust only in those whose opinions are anchored in something greater than themselves. There will finally be no safe regard for the principles of Jesus Christ without a regard for Christ himself as the Lord of life.

In these anxious days as we send our minds on the quest for some solution to our social problems, we finally come for our hope only to those who are convinced followers of Jesus Christ. Democracy, as Thomas Mann has reminded us, is not a machine that will be saved by patch-work and adjustment. It is a living thing that withers when it is cut from the root of faith in Jesus Christ from which it sprang. Race wrongs will not be educated from men whose natural pack viciousness remains. Only transformed men, reborn from their perversity, can live together in brotherhood and peace. The war showed us the bankruptcy of human society and the hopelessness of man's estate without God. The mounting tragedy of broken homes has not been stopped by moralizing or sociology. The first cure for every social

* Secretary, Department of Evangelism,
Board of National Missions, Presbyterian
Church, U.S.A.

problem is to bring more people to faith in Jesus Christ. This is the New Life Movement's great purpose.

2. But there must be something more that cannot be assumed. A person can in all sincerity stand before the session and say with deep feeling, "I accept Jesus Christ as my Lord and Saviour," without seeing the slightest connection between that and his social attitudes and conduct. We all know Church members who are the salt of the earth, convinced, earnest, deeply devout Christians whose attitudes on almost every social question are those of one who has never heard of the Gospel. How do you explain it? Are they subconscious hypocrites? Not at all. But they were converted only to an individual application of the Gospel in the first place, and they have never grown beyond it.

(a) The New Life Movement is going directly to this problem. We can expect those whom it brings into the Church to be the section of its membership with the strongest consciences on social evils.

Its program for the training and assimilation of new members is a large part of the New Life Movement. All the directions about classes, reading matter, etc., emphasize the importance of including definite teaching about the social implications of the Christian faith and the duty of social action. The three pieces of literature which the Movement so far has planned for

new members—a booklet on the Christian home, one on stewardship, and especially that on Christian social attitudes—give instruction in this field.

In other words, the often-mentioned and carefully planned intention of the New Life Movement is to be sure that its evangelism is not one-sided, to see to it that those who are won are converted not only in their private living but in their larger relationships.

(b) The Movement will affect, not only new members, but the present members of the Church. The motto of the Movement, "New Lives for the New Age," has a double reference. The new age into which mankind has passed requires a new sort of Church membership, newly conscious of its social mission, newly aware of its faith in the world.

The preliminary conference in which every Church is to begin fitting itself for the Movement by examining all its program and activities is to include a study of what the Church is doing to ameliorate social ills in its community, nation, and world. In the preparation of each Christian for his part in the Movement much is said of his determination to follow Christ in every area of life.

(c) Moreover, social action is urged as a definite evangelistic method. It is explained that many will be attracted first to a Church when they see it giving practical at-

tention to such problems as war, racial injustice, economic conflicts, and slums. When they have thus discovered Christianity as a practical force for good they can later be led to accept the faith from which that springs.

In a time in which everyone is talking about social problems, the New Life Movement is advising Church people to lead the conversation back from these to the answers that are found in Christianity, and so to put in a good word for their faith. This start is one of the most natural and useful ways of leading into personal evangelism. It is also social action.

(d) One of the three numerical goals of the New Life Movement is that of establishing 300 new Churches and Church Schools.

The result of reaching this goal will be to expand the social boundaries of our present Church. The Movement is putting every pressure behind breaking through those boundaries. We will not reach America as we should within our present church buildings. We must go into new industrial areas, underprivileged communities and neglected sections to establish new work. Many of those 300 new units may well be community centers. Surveys to find where such work is most needed are encouraged. Churches that have been unable because of supposed social differences to attract people from a particular section into their member-

ship are urged to start the bridge by establishing a branch Sunday School or chapel in that section.

No one thinks that the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., can gain 1,000,000 members only within its present too-restricted social sector.

(e) The New Life Movement itself is setting the example of social action. When in one of its training schools a Negro minister was teamed with a white layman to invite Negro families into the membership of what had been considered a white Church, it was doing something with no precedent in our Church. The New Life schools and conferences have been interracial to a degree seldom seen in our Church. Many of the New Life mass meetings have included presentation of the Christian answer to social problems. The National Commission on Evangelism, which directs the New Life Movement, includes an editor, a farmer, an industrialist, and a labor-union organizer.

The New Life Movement IS social action. It offers immediately practical action to those who are wondering what they can do about the threatening problems of today. It is the answer for those who recognize that Christians are not affecting the world as they should. It is the call to those who, in the face of human ills, are longing for some better use for their hands than wringing them. It is the moving of a Church newly roused to the service of its Lord and of his Kingdom.

60,000,000 Children Need YOUR Help

*By Minnetta A. Hastings**

REGARDLESS of headlines, the most important questions in the world today relate to matters seldom featured, except in a small way; they relate to the needs of children who have been the tragic and innocent victims of the wholesale destruction of modern war. Herbert Hoover, upon his return from Europe a year ago, said: "Civilization marches forward upon the feet of healthy children. We cannot have recovery of civilization in nations with a legacy of stunted bodies or distorted and bitter minds." In the European countries alone more than 30,000,000 children are undernourished and existing on standards much lower than existed before World War II. In the Far East the number is still larger.

Sixty million children in need—twice the number of the school children of the United States—staggered the imagination, but something must be done for them immediately, before it is too late. Work has begun in a number of countries, but as yet only a few million are receiving any help.

When the General Assembly of the United Nations met in December, 1946, it had presented to it some recommendations from the United

Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Council regarding the needs of children which had to be met in some manner after the services of UNRRA terminated at the end of June, 1947. Some of the finest work of UNRRA was that done for children; it supplied food to supplement very meager and deficient rations, medicines, and many types of services by trained personnel. This work must go on until the stricken nations can care for their own without outside help, hence the recommendation that an International Children's Emergency Fund be established for this purpose. In its report of recommendation the General Assembly Committee which had studied the proposal stated:

"The children of Europe and China were not only deprived of food for several cruel years but lived in a constant state of terror, witnessed the massacre of civilians and the horrors of scientific warfare, and were exposed to the progressive lowering of standards of social conduct. The urgent problem facing the United Nations is how to insure the survival of these children. . . . The hope of the world rests in the coming generations. . . . Undernourishment and nutritional and social diseases are rampant among children and adolescents. Infant mortality has doubled or trebled in many areas. Millions of orphans are being cared for under the most deplorable conditions; crippled children in untold thousands are left with the scantiest care or no care at all."

* Member, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The report was accepted and the Fund established immediately. At first only a fraction of the needs can be met, but the attention of Governments, voluntary agencies, and individuals in the various countries will have been focused on the necessity of finding solutions to pressing child-welfare problems.

In order that its work may be as effective as possible and unhampered by needless restrictions, the charter of the Fund states some definite policies that will be followed:

The Fund is to be utilized and administered for the benefit and rehabilitation of children and adolescents of countries that were the victims of aggression.

The Fund shall consist of contributions made available by Governments or obtained from voluntary agencies and individuals.

The Fund, in agreement with the Governments concerned, shall take all appropriate measures to ensure proper utilization and distribution of supplies.

Based on this statement, the Program Committee of the Fund has adopted a policy of "the highest trusteeship between the donor and the beneficiary," and Fund officials will control all phases of their work from the receipt of contributions until relief is given to individuals.

Distribution will be on the basis of need, without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality status, or political belief. Children will not be penalized for the ideological beliefs of their parents.

Personal investigations have been made by ICEF staff; they have visited many countries, consulted with governmental and private agencies at work in the countries, and

aided them in deciding upon their immediate program. Work is already going on, in a limited way, on both sides of "the iron curtain"; milk and other supplies are being used in Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. The Executive Director of the Fund is an American businessman, Maurice Pate, who was wartime director of the Prisoners of War Relief Section of the American Red Cross and accompanied Herbert Hoover on his missions to Europe after both world wars. A 25-nation Executive Board has been established by the General Assembly, with Miss Katherine Lenroot, Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau, as the representative of this country. An office for the Fund has been established in Washington.

It is estimated that \$450,000,000 will be needed for the first year of operation; \$200,000,000 of this amount must come in gifts from donor Governments, either cash or goods, such as cod-liver oil from Norway; \$200,000,000 will come from the recipient Governments in the form of available foods, transportation, and various services; the remaining \$50,000,000 that is needed for the program must come from private donors in this and other countries.

The United States' Congress, last May, authorized a contribution of up
(Continued on page 33)

The World Can Be Ordered

*By Graydon E. McClellan **

Mr. McClellan, of California, was one of the fifteen synod Social Education and Action chairmen who were brought to New York by the Division of Social Education and Action for the first of what we hope will be a series of national world order conferences. This is part of the plan of the Division to train leadership for promoting world order conferences on the synod, presbytery, and Churches.

WE WANT the United Nations to work—every one of us does. But how can we help it to work? While the giants wrestle, we stand back, helpless and frightened pygmies, breathing despair in huge gulps as we read the daily headlines. This is our peace they argue over, and yet we cannot join the struggle. We are but spectators.

It is such a mood that has come over our nation, and it was just such a mood which the New York World Order Seminar, November 12 and 13, helped to dispel for me. To attend such a seminar might have been to see “world order” in discussion only, and profuse discussion at that, for the world is a big subject. Instead, I saw world order in action—action in which I became a participant, and in which I can continue to be one. They are not the giants—we are. We put them there. We are pygmies only when we continue to feed upon ignorance and unchristian hopelessness. Then they become pygmies too, for our power is their power. But as long as we expect a

peace from the efforts of these our representatives, and expect it with an exacting and fierce determination, we shall have it—not an American peace, not a British or Russian peace, but a United Nations peace.

For we have allies, you and I. Back of the desks of the different delegations at the United Nations, even the Russian delegation, I saw citizens of one world, making their representatives explain every vote they cast in terms of peace. Nothing can resist this determination of the people for peace if we wholeheartedly throw in our lot with them.

It would appear, then, that the New York World Order Seminar left me with a sober optimism. The reasons for the soberness are apparent in the daily headlines, but perhaps the optimism needs explaining.

1. The caliber of most of the representatives in the UN makes me optimistic. Among the big names, there are: Sir Hartley Shawcross, the Britisher of the rapier wit who can make jovial rebuttal to Russian argument and still appeal to their loyalty to the UN. Dr. Herbert V. Evatt,

* Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Santa Rosa, California.

the Australian champion of the smaller states, master of the sarcastic but more mastered by the responsibilities to the little people. "To me, the people of the world are worth more than all the Governments," we heard him say. John Foster Dulles who speaks only with dignified reasonableness, stating his country's position firmly but holding the door open to the Russians with Christian patience and restraint. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, concerning whose work as chairman of the Commission on Human Rights we hear praise from all sides. And there were lesser names. For example, in a meeting of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, I heard the representative from Uruguay protest the Russian and British request for a reduction of funds for public information work with an intelligent plea for an informed world public. He won his point.

2. I am encouraged by the new opportunities for an informed public opinion to influence world affairs. Being in conference with such men as Mr. Dulles and Dean Rusk, formerly of Mills College and now the top level nerve center in our State Department for our UN delegation, made some of us realize as never before how sensitive our representatives are to public opinion. We are sometimes depressed with the futility of communicating with our leaders. Yet here are two men whose thinking today is in no small way a

product of public opinion: Mr. Dulles, Christian layman, cannot disassociate himself from the public opinion created by a world-minded Church. Dean Rusk will always be the professor who imbibed heavily of the public opinion expressed in the famous Institutes of International Relations at Mills College. And these men feel themselves strong in their work only when bulwarked by a favorable public opinion expressed through such meetings as ours, and through public utterances and letters.

Thanks to the increased facilities for world communication and to the present practice of making U.S. the "Town Meeting of the World," we the people of the nations can inform ourselves as to what is going on and thus keep our delegates responsible to us. We need to encourage some of our newspapers to carry more UN news. We hear too much about the dramatic clashes and too little about the work in the social and economic fields.

3. I am optimistic because of the possibilities of building an international loyalty. In our conferences with Dean Rusk and Mr. Dulles I was impressed by their attitude that the UN must work. And if their interpretation of our nation's policies is the true one, our Government has the same attitude. Stating our official position on numerous international issues, these two men kept making it clear that if we were voted down by

the other nations, we would certainly abide by the majority decisions.

In the debates it was a thrilling thing to hear all delegates, including the Russians, appeal for support of their positions on the basis of loyalty to the UN. And, as Mr. Dulles pointed out in his speech on November 13 favoring the Interim Committee, even in their bitter criticisms of him and of Secretary Marshall the Russian Government is seeking the support of its people by appealing to their loyalty to the UN. The Russians skirt the rim of a UN breakup with alarming frequency, but they do help foster the idea that a breakup would be a calamity.

What is needed now is a movement where organizations in world society will do for international loyalty what patriotic societies have done for national loyalty—make international disloyalty an offense socially and legally.

4. I am optimistic about world order because of the successful work already being done. "The UN is not about to crack up," Mr. Dulles told us. "The present assembly is the most constructive meeting yet. . . . I am not pessimistic. Things are being worked out." Even on one of the most disputed questions, that of Korea, progress is being made, according to Dean Rusk.

Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, of the Federal Council of Churches, gave us another example. On the touchy warmongering resolution pushed by

the Russians, a serious situation developed. The United States wanted nothing to do with it, and Russia was determined to see it adopted. The smaller nations, however, forced through an amended resolution that was positive, and even the United States had to go along.

In the less spectacular work of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Departments of the Secretariat we find that a good deal of constructive work is being done. For example, the second half of an International Trade Conference is about to begin in Havana. The Commission on Human Rights, under Mrs. Roosevelt's chairmanship, is at work on a Bill of Human Rights for the world. And the Division of Social Activities of the Secretariat's Department of Social Affairs is arranging for social workers of retarded countries to study social service practices in more advanced countries.

While some of us hope pathetically for the success of the UN, there are literally hundreds of devoted and skilled workers earnestly building that success.

Disarmament is the one place where no progress has been made, and this is a fearsome failure. But if we can build a pattern of success in other matters, if we can develop an international loyalty based upon an informed public opinion, tensions which discourage disarmament can be relaxed and pave the way for the solution of this complex problem.

Hope for a Despairing World

(Continued from page 5)

Experience has amply demonstrated that an order that is based only on economics and politics will create its own tensions and frictions. No matter how noble may be the utopia that we erect, the human stuff of which it is composed will bring about its destruction.

When once this personal reformation has been effected, and we have learned to live as brothers in God's world, the Christian Gospel expects us to become crusaders against the evils that still remain. The Gospel of Christ has a message for the individual, and one also for society. The man whose life has been touched by the Spirit of Christ will begin at once to let that Spirit affect him in all his social relationships.

Someone has pointed out that the two most searching questions in the opening chapters of the book of Genesis are these: First: Adam, "Where art thou?" Second: "Where is Abel thy brother?" The Church of Jesus Christ must insistently ask these two groups of questions: "Where are you? What are you doing with your life? What is your relationship to Christ?" Secondly: "Where is your brother? What is happening to him?"

If we answer the first question and disregard the second, we are not true Christians. We have not embraced Christianity.

The fact that no real progress has been made by the United Nations organization in the matter of world peace is not the fault of the organization. The trouble lies within the hearts of those who make up its membership. It lacks a spiritual foundation. It is like the house of which Jesus spoke that was built upon the shifting sand. The only enduring foundation for a temple of peace is good will, a recognition of the rights of others, a readiness to understand their viewpoint, and a willingness to sacrifice one's own interests for the common good of all.

The problem of establishing a new world order is basically a spiritual one. It may be that in the full perspective of history the stalemating of our present efforts may prove an ultimate blessing. It may cause the nations' leaders to recognize that the fundamental issues are not economic and political, but moral and spiritual.

"If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?"

No foundation is ever destroyed unless there is rottenness in it, and there has been plenty of rottenness in twentieth-century civilization; plenty of injustice, ill will, greed, hate, and selfishness. God is shaking the whole world today; he is shaking our Western civilization; and I believe that the awakening of the races is part of the divine plan for his children.

It is a painful business to live through this period of stress, change, and revolution, but the foundations of God's Kingdom are not shaken. His purposes cannot be frustrated or defeated. What can the Christian do in such a time as this? He can pledge himself with renewed loyalty to the Church of Jesus Christ as it witnesses to his Gospel in this and other lands.

There is nothing hesitant or apologetic about the crusade of Communists in our high schools and colleges, our labor unions and factories. They believe that the triumph of one class in society is the answer to the world problem. Do we believe that Christ has given us a better answer than the economic or political? If we believe that, let us say so unashamedly and courageously. We must not let any group of men on earth outstrip us in the proclamation of our convictions.

The early Christians were ready at any moment to die for their faith. Are we ready to live for ours? This will require something more than attendance at Church one day a week. It must enter into every aspect of our life. As we witness fearlessly for Christ, lifting high his cross, and treading where his feet have trod, he will draw all men unto him.

Government Control of Liquor

(Continued from page 9)

Hiram Walker Gooderham and Worts, Ltd.

The liquor interests have been able to carry on these antisocial activities largely because of their centralization and monopoly control and the power they are consequently able to exert in their own behalf in national and international concerns. Dr. William Temple, the former archbishop of Canterbury, used to argue that when any industry becomes monopolistic in character it should be taken over by the state. In view of the actions of the liquor industry we believe such an argument is valid in their case.

The monopolistic corporations that control the liquor industry on this continent are continuing to "teach American women how to drink" and to "make youth liquor conscious," according to their own advertisements. Senator Capper, referring to the national drink bill of the United States being \$8,770,000,000—"an average expenditure of \$89 for every person over 18 years old in the entire nation"—went on to say, "I believe that the tremendous amount of advertising, seeking to whet the appetite for drinking; seeking to create new customers, especially among women and children, has much to do with increased liquor consumption—from 91,000,000 gallons of spirits and wines in 1934 to 371,000,000 gallons of spirits and wines and 78,000,000 barrels of beer in 1946."¹ It is by the Government taking over the liquor business that inducements to drink, through advertising, can be eliminated.

Two further observations of a more general nature can be made in support of Government control of the liquor industry. One is that the people, and especially the moral forces in community life, can have an influence upon a Government that they do not, and cannot, have upon a private

industry such as the present liquor business on this continent. By their votes and by seeking for better law enforcement, Christians, and the Churches they represent, have certain powers with Government agencies which it is impossible to have with a private or monopolistic business.

Secondly, since The United Church of Canada went on record in 1944 as favoring the principle of nationalization of the liquor industry, the Canadian liquor interests have been most vociferous in their condemnation of our Church's stand on temperance, especially at this point. We have talked and preached about temperance education for years, and we will continue to do so. But the liquor interests say nothing against this type of strategy. As long as they can reap big profits, continue advertising, and make use of other subtle means of influencing public opinion, they realize that they can counteract a great amount of the good done by temperance education. But it is when we touch the purse strings of the liquor interests that we find that they begin to howl and resort to all sorts of means to condemn those leaders in temperance who promote Government control of the liquor industry. It is this strong reaction of the liquor interests to our Church's stand on nationalization of this industry that has, among other things, led the present writer to favor the Government's taking over control of the alcohol business.

No one method in itself will solve the liquor problem. Our Churches must continue to promote campaigns for self-discipline and abstinence from intoxicating beverages; it must keep up the work of temperance education, especially among youth; campaigns of local option should be followed through vigorously; we must persevere in our desire for better laws and law enforcement. But we also believe that the next step, and a very important one, in the drive against the demon of drink is to hit him where he will feel it the most—at the point of personal monetary gain.

¹ Hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, United States Senate, May 12 and 13, 1947. Pp. 3 and 4.

For Time



Rev. Clifford J. Earle has accepted the appointment of the Board of Christian Education to the Division of Social Education and Action as Associate Secretary. Dr. Earle already is known to our readers through his contributions to the pages of *SOCIAL PROGRESS*.

A native of Wisconsin, Dr. Earle is a graduate of Marquette University and of McCormick Theological Seminary. He comes to this staff from a rich and influential ministry at the Second Presbyterian Church of Oak Park, Illinois, and will continue his membership in the Chicago Presbytery where he was formerly chairman of the Committee on Social Edu-

cation and Action and which he now serves as Moderator. Dr. Earle has made a significant contribution in young people's work through Christian Endeavor and was General Chairman of the International Convention held by that society in San Francisco last July.

The American Leader, the first "Friend Ship," sails today from Philadelphia with its cargo of food for France. More ships will sail for other needy nations with the food brought to eastern ports by the "Friendship Trains." This outpouring of gifts has far exceeded the expectations of Drew Pearson who originated this plan for "direct action" by Americans for Europe's people.

The Friendship Train is but one of a number of methods used by this country to get help to the needy. A steady stream of relief has been maintained by the shipment of CARE packages, since the discontinuance of UNRRA—and that agency distributed three billions of dollars in relief from the United States. The \$27,000,000 Restoration Fund of the Presbyterian Church, now nearing completion, is part of the response of the Christian Church in America to the need of those suffering the ravages and dislocations of war. Church World Service* has, through the particular Church, become the collecting agency for clothing, bedding, and household articles

* Write to your area secretary for details. Eastern Area Secretary: Miss Margaret Flory, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.; East Central Area: Miss Elisabeth E. Turner, 77 West Washington St., Chicago 2, Ill.; West Central Area: Miss Mary Ingram, 1021 McGee St., Kansas City 6, Mo.; Western Area: Miss Frances M. Gray, 228 McAllister St., San Francisco 2, Calif.

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that are shipped from nine strategically located warehouses at the rate of 1,500,000 pounds a month. "Christian Carloads"** appeals particularly to rural communities with a plan to send wheat, corn, beans, cotton, dried milk, seeds, and other products in carload lots overseas. More than 12 per cent of the supplies sent by Church World Service for the month of October was contributed by rural American Church people through CROP (Christian Rural Overseas Program).

Our own Board of Foreign Missions † has a plan for the adoption of Protestant pastors in Europe and Asia to strengthen the bonds of fellowship and sustain the essential ministry of these courageous leaders. The Westminster Fellowship groups are aiding through "Heifer Projects," * Friendship Bags for students in Presbyterian Mission Schools,* and packages for "CI-MADE" *, a French organization ministering to evacuees.

Among the most recent inspired projects for aid is the campaign of the Girl Scouts for clothing in a campaign to "MAKE WARM FRIENDS." The Church of the Brethren plan for Europe includes the purchase and reconditioning of a bomber! The Brethren's Bomber will be loaded with hatching eggs and flown to Europe where once it released its "eggs" of destruction in war. The mobilization of the nation in the voluntary food-saving program is securing millions of bushels of desperately needed grain for the starving. This list does not complete the roll of plans supported by Americans to relieve the suffering of war's victims. The imagination and the determination with which Christian America moves to serve the victims of disaster is the most convincing "opinion poll" ever taken in the nation. The compassion these efforts express will carry hope beyond the reach of relief—even as far as the story is told. This "poll" should nerve our Congressmen to lead the nation in every sacrifice required to serve the pressing need. But without the critical support of each one of us, the wisest plan will fail and the ablest administrators will be broken.

Charity Begins at Home The European Recovery Plan and the Stop-gap Aid program have vast implications for our nation and the world. The organization of the Recovery Plan will require great wisdom and integrity on the part of those who administer it for the United States. The duties of public service impose heavy burdens that are often made intolerable by exposure to excessive,

* Consult your area secretary also for the name of a pastor in any one of the following countries: Austria, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines.

even abusive, criticism. The Christian can aid by the steady exercise of charity and the frequent expression of appreciation for the many truly noble men and women who serve mankind as our representatives. Disagreement with other men on policy does not excuse the intemperate denunciation it often excites. Respect will prevail among just men even when they disagree. John G. Winant, in *Letter from Grosvenor Square*, comments on the kind of respect and understanding that existed between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill even amid differences: "No matter how sharp the differences of opinion were between them, there was always courtesy and consideration—each trying to help the other and yet realizing their individual responsibilities were not always the same. Both had an unconquerable courage—the President kindly and determined—the Prime Minister forceful and magnanimous. I do not believe in the annals of history that the leaders of two great nations were ever more true to their own people or more devoted to the common cause."

Mr. Winant's tragic death brought sadness to a great company personally unknown to him, by whom he was held in affection for the simplicity, the dignity, the fearlessness of his life as our Ambassador to England during democracy's dark days. It is possible that were it our practice to convey our appreciation to such just men, crushing burdens would be lifted from their hearts. Perhaps a plain card of gratitude—owed by millions—would have kept the valiant, sensitive spirit of John G. Winant from breaking. Today, particularly burdensome responsibilities rest upon leaders of our nation and upon our fellow citizens. Critical decisions must be made, requiring exhaustive investigation and study. Courtesy in our personal relationships will not hinder but will advance the relentless and at times almost desperate search for "the truth and the way." Charity and devotion to truth are not incompatible. On the contrary, the crudest persecution has been launched by men afraid of the truth.

We enter a period of great debate. We shall have to labor and pray without ceasing to discover our Christian duty in relation to such urgent matters as the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, national defense and peacetime training, price and commodity controls, the American policy toward Russia, world trade, refugees, and, in domestic matters, to mention only two, race relations and industrial relations. It is immoral to think that someone else can do our thinking and acting for us. The Christian is called to hard thinking and courageous living. With, then, "charity for all" and an almost fanatical devotion to the truth, let us share in the great decisions and deeds before us.

CHRISTIAN POLITICAL ACTION

Congress failed to act in 1947 regular session on almost every piece of legislation supported by citizen groups. Organizations such as the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and the National Council of Jewish Women are adding up the score in legislative bulletins. Friends Committee on National Legislation, 2111 Florida Avenue, N. W., Washington 8, D. C., is circulating a complete "Where Is It?" summary of unfinished legislation. Below are six victims of Congressional inaction.

Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill: supported by forty national organizations with about 80,000,000 members; opposed by five real estate, building and loan organizations with about 100,000 members.

Federal Aid to Education: supported by forty-four lay and educational organizations; opposed by two management and three citizen groups.

National Health Insurance and Public Health Bill: supported by forty-five national business, labor, farm, professional, and citizen organizations including five medical and dental associations; opposed by one medical and one hospital association.

Federal Department of Health Education and Security: supported by twenty-seven citizen groups and agencies serving medical profession; opposed by American Medical Association and two other professional groups.

National Act Against Discrimination: supported by eighty-four national organizations including major labor and Church groups; opposition mainly under cover; openly opposed by white supremacy fraternal orders.

Displaced Persons Bill: supported by 119 national farm, labor, and citizen organizations; opposed by two.

Citizen organizations during this session of Congress scored mainly in preventive moves. They helped to stop wool tariff; helped to keep State Department's office of Information and Educational Exchange, although Mundt Bill authorizing program awaits Senate action; helped to restore appropriation cuts for foreign relief; played an important role in blocking action on universal military training.

Organizations did not get the strong rent control bill they wanted. Many condemn Taft-Hartley law. They did get Senate-House ratification of U. S. membership in International Refugee Organization.

—From Resolved, newsletter published by Baldwin and Mermey, New York, N. Y.

"Christian faith and principles must be the spiritual and ethical basis for all decisions taken by public officials."—From *A Primer on Politics*.

Atomic War or Peace

(Continued from page 2)

by the Germans, if they discovered it. The bombing of civilian centers was initiated by the Germans and adopted by the Japanese. To it the Allies responded in kind—as it turned out, with greater effectiveness—and they were morally justified in doing so. But now, without any provocation, and without the justification of reprisal or retaliation, a refusal to outlaw the use of the bomb save in reprisal is making a political purpose of its possession.

I am not saying that the United States should not manufacture and stock pile the bomb, for I believe that it must do so; it must be able to deter another nation from making an atomic attack when it also has the bomb. But deterrence should be the only purpose of the stock pile of bombs. In the same way I believe that the United Nations should have the atomic bomb when it is supplied with its own armed forces and weapons. But it too should have the bomb for the sole purpose of deterring an aggressor or rebellious nation from making an atomic attack. It should not use the atomic bomb on its own initiative any more than the United States or any other power should do so. To keep a stock pile of atomic bombs without promising not to initiate its use is exploiting the possession of the bombs for political ends. It may be that the United States hopes in this way to frighten the Soviet Union into accepting supranational control of atomic energy. But the creation of fear only heightens antagonism and increases the danger of war.

We have emerged from a war in which we had to accept the degradingly low ethical standards of the enemy. But instead of feeling liberated from his standards, and set free to restore the sanctity of human life and the safety of noncombatants, we are in effect making the low standards of the enemy in the last war our own for the present. Thus we are starting

toward another war degraded by our own choice.

It may be the public is not fully aware that in another war atomic bombs will be available in large quantities. It may measure the dangers in the terms of the three bombs exploded before the end of the last war. The public also may not appreciate that, in relation to the damage inflicted, atomic bombs already have become the most economical form of destruction that can be used on the offensive. In another war the bombs will be plentiful and they will be comparatively cheap. Unless there is a determination not to use them that is far stronger than can be noted today among American political and military leaders, and on the part of the public itself, atomic warfare will be hard to avoid. Unless Americans come to recognize that they are not stronger in the world because they have the bomb, but weaker because of their vulnerability to atomic attack, they are not likely to conduct their policy at Lake Success or in their relations with Russia in a spirit that furthers the arrival at an understanding.

But I do not suggest that the American failure to outlaw the use of the bomb except in retaliation is the only cause of the absence of an agreement with the Soviet Union over atomic control. The Russians have made it clear that they will do everything in their power to prevent a supranational regime from coming into existence. They not only reject it in the range of atomic energy: they reject it sharply on principle, and thus have spurned in advance any overture to join a limited world government.

Mr. Gromyko has rightly said that the essence of the American atomic proposal is that national sovereignty is not compatible with the atomic era. He declares that the Soviet Union cannot accept this thesis. The reasons he gives are obscure, for they quite obviously are pretexts. But what seems to be true is that the Soviet leaders believe they cannot preserve the

social structure of the Soviet state in a supranational regime. The Soviet Government is determined to maintain its present social structure, and the leaders of Russia, who hold their great power through the nature of that structure, will spare no effort to prevent a supranational regime from coming into existence, to control atomic energy or anything else.

The Russians may be partly right about the difficulty of retaining their present social structure in a supranational regime, though in time they may be brought to see that this is a far lesser loss than remaining isolated from a world of law. But at present they appear to be guided by their fears, and one must admit that the United States has made ample contributions to these fears, not only as to atomic energy but in many other respects. Indeed this country has conducted its Russian policy as though it were convinced that fear is the greatest of all diplomatic instruments.

That the Russians are striving to prevent the formation of a supranational security system is no reason why the rest of the world should not work to create one. It has been pointed out that the Russians have a way of resisting with all their arts what they do not wish to have happen; but once it happens, they can be flexible and accommodate themselves to it. So it would be well for the United States and other powers not to permit the Russians to veto an attempt to create supranational security. They can proceed with some hope that once the Russians see they cannot prevent such a regime they may join it.

So far the United States has shown no interest in preserving the security of the Soviet Union. It has been interested in its own security, which is characteristic of the competition that marks the conflict for power between sovereign states. But one cannot know in advance what would be the effect on Russian fears if the American people forced their leaders to pursue a policy of substituting law for the present anarchy of international relations. In a

world of law, Russian security would be equal to our own, and for the American people to espouse this wholeheartedly might work a kind of miracle in Russian thinking.

At present the Russians have no evidence to convince them that the American people are not contentedly supporting a policy of military preparedness. If they had evidences of a passionate desire by Americans to preserve peace in the one way it be maintained, by a supranational regime of law, this would upset Russian calculations about the peril to Russian security in current trends of American thought. Not until a genuine, convincing offer is made to the Soviet Union, backed by an aroused American public, will one be entitled to say what the Russian response would be.

It may be that the first response would be to reject the world of law. But if from that moment it began to be clear to the Russians that such a world was coming into existence without them, and that their own security was being increased, their ideas necessarily would change.

I am in favor of inviting the Russians to join a world government authorized to provide security, and if they are unwilling to join, to proceed to establish supranational security without them. Let me admit quickly that I see great peril in such a course. If it is adopted, it must be done in a way to make it utterly clear that the new regime is not a combination of power against Russia. It must be a combination that by its composite nature will greatly reduce the chances of war. It will be more diverse in its interests than any single state, thus less likely to resort to aggressive or preventive war. It will be larger, hence stronger, than any single nation. It will be geographically much more extensive, and thus more difficult to defeat by military means. It will be dedicated to supranational security, and thus escape the emphasis on national supremacy which is so strong a factor in war.

If a supranational regime is set up without Russia, its service to peace will depend on the skill and sincerity with which it is done. Emphasis should always be apparent on the desire to have Russia take part. It must be clear to Russia, and no less so to the nations comprising the organization, that no penalty is incurred or implied because a nation declines to join. If the Russians do not join at the outset, they must be sure of a welcome when they do decide to join. Those who create the organization must understand that they are building with the final objective of obtaining Russian adherence.

These are abstractions, and it is not easy to outline the specific lines a partial world government must follow to induce the Russians to join. But two conditions are clear to me: the new organization must have no military secrets; and the Russians must be free to have observers at every session of the organization, where its new laws are drafted, discussed, and adopted, and where its policies are decided. That would destroy the great factory of secrecy where so many of the world's suspicions are manufactured.

It may affront the military-minded person to suggest a regime that does not maintain any military secrets. He has been taught to believe that secrets thus divulged would enable a war-minded nation to seek to conquer the earth. (As to the so-called secret of the atomic bomb, I am assuming the Russians will have this through their own efforts within a short time.) I grant there is a risk in not maintaining military secrets. If a sufficient number of nations have pooled their strength, they can take this risk, for their security will be greatly increased. And it can be done with greater assurance because of the decrease of fear, suspicion, and distrust that will result. The tensions of the increasing likelihood of war in a world based on sovereignty would be replaced by the relaxation of the growing confidence in peace. In time this might so allure the Russian people that

their leaders would mellow in their attitude toward the West.

Membership in a supranational security system should not, in my opinion, be based on any arbitrary democratic standards. The one requirement from all should be that the representatives to supranational organization—assembly and council—must be elected by the people in each member country through a secret ballot. These representatives must represent the people rather than any Government—which would enhance the pacific nature of the organization.

To require that other democratic criteria be met is, I believe, inadvisable. Indeed, if all the Western nations were to adopt socialism, while maintaining their national sovereignty, it is quite likely that the conflict for power between East and West would continue. The passion expressed over the economic systems of the present seems to me quite irrational. Whether the economic life of America should be dominated by relatively few individuals, as it is, or these individuals should be controlled by the state, may be important, but it is not important enough to justify all the feelings that are stirred up over it.

I should wish to see all the nations forming the supranational state pool all their military forces, keeping for themselves only local police. Then I should like to see these forces commingled and distributed as were the regiments of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. There it was appreciated that the men and the officers of one region would serve the purposes of empire better by not being stationed exclusively in their own provinces, subject to local and racial pulls.

I should like to see the authority of the supranational regime restricted altogether to the field of security. Whether this would be possible I am not sure. Experience may point to the desirability of adding some authority over economic matters, since under modern conditions these are capable of

causing national upsets that have in them the seeds of violent conflict. I also should like to see this regime established through the strengthening of the United Nations, so as not to sacrifice continuity in the search for peace.

I do not hide from myself the great difficulties of establishing a world government, either a beginning without Russia or one with Russia. I am aware of the risks. Since I should not wish it to be permissible for any country that has joined the supranational organization to secede, one of these risks is a possible civil war. But I also believe that world government is certain to come in time, and that the question is how much it is to be permitted to cost. It will come, I believe, even if there is another world war, though after such a war, if it is won, it would be world government established by the victor, resting on the victor's military power, and thus maintained permanently only through the permanent militarization of humanity.

But I also believe it can come through agreement and through the force of persuasion alone, hence at low cost. But if it is to come in this way it will not be enough to appeal to reason. One strength of the communist system of the East is that it has some of the character of a religion and inspires the emotions of a religion. Unless the cause of peace based on law gathers behind it the force and zeal of a religion, it hardly can hope to succeed. Those to whom the moral teaching of the human race is entrusted surely have a great duty and a great opportunity. The atomic scientists, I think, have become convinced that they cannot arouse the American people to the truths of the atomic era by logic alone. There must be added that deep power of emotion which is a basic ingredient of religion. It is to be hoped that not only the Churches but the schools, the colleges, and the leading organs of opinion will acquit themselves well of their unique responsibility in this regard.

The Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists

The Committee was organized informally in May, 1946, by a small group of atomic scientists headed by Albert Einstein and Harold C. Urey; the Committee was incorporated in August, 1946. The atomic scientists recognized, because of their unique knowledge, the tremendous new problems that faced mankind through the release of atomic energy. Their purpose in coming together was to arouse the American people to an understanding of the unprecedented crisis in national and international affairs precipitated by the atomic discoveries.

The part they had borne in these discoveries had aroused in scientists a deep sense of responsibility for the immediate and eventual uses to which this great new power might be put. As scientists, working in the interests of their country at a time of national peril, they had released overwhelming new forces. As citizens, they saw that the people were wholly unaware of the supreme implications of this new power, mainly because of the necessity of military security. They believed that the connotations of secrecy, national rivalry, and mass destruction that unavoidably attached to the atomic discoveries from their inception must be removed, that men might determine the future use and control of atomic energy in an atmosphere of free and democratic discussion.

It is the unanimous belief of the members of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists that a nation-wide educational campaign provides the only assurance that public attention will be focused on the paramount necessity of securing effective international control to safeguard our civilization.

Sanctuary

“The March of Time—” *

Opening Meditation:

Nature's Time has nothing to do
with man's sixty seconds make a minute,
sixty minutes make an hour,
days, weeks, months,
or very little to do even with years.
It is a slow rhythmic breathing,
systole, diastole, respiration, suspiration.
It is not measured by agitated little wheels
swinging arrogant hands
among prancing numbers.
It is measured by growth and decay,
birth and death, night and day,
and other significant recurrences.
When man's time agrees with Nature's Time,
Man flourishes.
But in times of disagreement,
It is not watches and clocks
That retain command of events.

Scripture Reading: Psalm 90.

Prayer:

Eternal God, who makest all things new, and abidest forever the same; grant us to commence this year in thy faith, and to continue it in thy favor; that, being guided in all our doings, and guarded all our days, we may spend our lives in thy service, and finally, by thy grace, attain the glory of everlasting life; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

—*William E. Orchard.*

Testimonies and Admonitions (as true now as ever):

“Our difficulties of the moment must always be dealt with somehow; but our permanent difficulties are difficulties of every moment.”

—*T. S. Eliot.*

“Men subscribe today to what they call ‘the economic interpretation of history.’ They mean by this that history is the record of nature's forces, of extra-human forces; they mean that this human will which we brag about, this power of choice with which we fancy ourselves invested, is nonexistent; men do not move, but are moved only; they are only cogs in the great machine. This may be true as it lies under the aspect of eternity. But the fact as it shows itself in the work-a-day world seems to be that a man can choose most of his courses but none of the re-

* Arranged by Paul S. Wright, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon.

sults of them. A century and a half since, men came to want more things. Men became enthusiastic about things. Men preached a new creed—faith in things. Men set to work to make and to get things; men devoted the best of human energies to things, men pinned their progress, their civilization to things. Today the force of things which they developed, the industrial force, may indeed be regarded as having dominion over men. Today men may be regarded as cogs in the great machine. But this machine they themselves chose to build."

—Samuel Strauss, formerly editor of *New York Globe*.

"The years which lie ahead of us are going to be pivotal years. . . . We are passing out of the years that the locusts have eaten, the years of Harding and Daugherty, of Fall and Sinclair, the years when Coolidge was an oracle and Mellon a god, the years of the tired radicals and the peace of exhaustion, the years when the pilgrimage of man meant little journeys from the stock ticker to the golf course and back to the bridge game and the highball, the years when youth exchanged the bondage of laws for that of impulses, the slavery of tradition for that of convention, the tyranny of the past for that of the present, the years when there were no problems, for every one was getting rich in the best of all possible worlds."

—Justin Wroe Nixon, in *The Moral Crisis in Christianity*.

"The history of mankind is, from one point of view, the story of man's war upon man. It is a story of great powers shamefully misused, of splendid possibilities not only neglected but turned into active engines of destruction. Professor William Graham Sumner was the least sentimental of economists, yet in a moment of self-disclosure, he once remarked to his class: 'Unless it had been for a principle, running through all history and readily discernible by any careful student of history in the large—call it, if you please—Divine Providence, or merely a Corrective Principle—bringing Truth out of Error, Right out of Wrong, and Success out of Failure, the human race would have wiped itself out by its own follies thousands of years ago.'"

—William Adam Brown, in *God at Work*, pp. 110, 111.

"The waste of war is always spiritual as well as material, and post-war decades are ever periods in which the fires of noble aims flicker but feebly. By 1930 our post-war decade and our post-war prosperity were over. Let us hope that our post-war materialism may also pass. We have yet to see what shall come, but the task clearly lies before us to

Rebuild in beauty on the burnt-out coals,
Not the heart's desire, but the soul's."

—James Truslow Adams, in *The Epic of America*.

Hymn: "Let There Be Light, Lord God of Hosts."

Closing Meditation:

"And I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year:

"Give me a light that I may tread safely into the unknown."

"And he replied:

"Go out into the darkness and put your hand into the hand of God. That shall be to you better than light and safer than a known way."

—Louise Haskins.

What Is Loyalty? A Difficult Question

(Continued from page 7)

the National Maritime Union, have presented only the most recent case histories. One may still wonder perhaps whether the divergence of political loyalties really goes to the length of espionage. Again the record is clear. Herbert Morrison, hardly a reactionary, has borne testimony, for example, to the cases of Communist espionage which came to him as British home secretary at a time when Britain and Russia were fighting allies.

"It may be said that all countries spy, and it may be that they do," Morrison observed. "But there is a grave difference between the ordinary spying of the professional spy . . . and espionage through a political organization." The documents of the Canadian spy case report the techniques of Communist political corruption in fascinating and indisputable detail—in particular, the use of the "study group" as a way of feeling out the degrees of political fanaticism.

The national Communist parties and their front organizations provide, in fact, a unique means of getting, recruiting, and testing potential agents. Morrison has stated one result of these tactics—his discomfort at the thought of "sitting in the same cabinet where members of the Communist party were participating in our discussions with access to secret documents." That discomfort must continue wherever, in Government agencies, Communists or their allies or dupes have access to classified materials.

It would be rash to assume that Moscow has its intelligence networks operating in every country except the one it has repeatedly named as its chief enemy—the United States. Certainly the American Communist party has made no secret of its belief that the United States should always follow the Soviet lead. As recently as September, 1947, *Political Affairs*, the

American Communist theological organ, made its usual references to the "fact" that "the policies of the Soviet Union before, during, and since the anti-Axis war, have corresponded to the best interests of the American people."

In view of such repeated declarations, it becomes increasingly difficult to see how even Henry Wallace can continue to say, "The very few Communists I have met have been very good Americans." The presumption becomes overwhelming that the U.S.S.R., through the NKVD, its underground Communist cells, and its front organizations, is commissioning agents to penetrate the "sensitive" branches of the Government, particularly the State Department, the Department of National Defense, and the Atomic Energy Commission.

Let us then admit that a real danger exists. But the solution is surely not, on the one hand, to fire everyone suspected of liberal leanings, nor, on the other, to fire only avowed and open Communists. The solution is rather to construct some means of ridding the security agencies of questionable characters, while at the same time retaining enough safeguards to insure against indiscriminate purges.

Discharge in advance of an overt act may seem a rough policy. Yet the failure to discharge suspicious persons may well imperil national security; it certainly would lead to the use of precautionary measures, such as wire-tapping and constant shadowing, which would bring the police state much nearer. Let us recall for a moment the situation in 1938. Obviously Nazis, their conscious fellow travelers and soft-headed Americans who conceived Germany to be a much misunderstood nation, had no business in the State Department; and liberals were correct in demanding their dismissal in advance of overt acts. I cannot see why this same principle does not apply today to the fellow travelers of a rival totalitarianism.

Have we, in fact, a witch hunt today? We must first discriminate between the

wishes of some members of Congress and the intentions of the Executive. The most shocking actions of the Administration—notably the President's executive order, the State Department's loyalty code, and some of the recent firings—have doubtless been motivated in great part by a desire to head off more extreme action from Congress. Yet this very process of appeasing the worst element in Congress has led to the compromise of principles that cannot be properly compromised in a democracy.

We may agree that this picture can be overdrawn—that Communist propaganda in this country is working overtime to paint Washington as a terror-ridden police state. Presumably on the basis of such overwrought stories, Harold Laski can write in *The New Statesman and Nation*, "America is in the grip of a hysterical witch hunt that is as ugly in its character as it is fantastic in its proportions"; we can only admire the effectiveness of the propaganda campaign. Indeed, one atrocity story went so far in claiming that all readers of liberal magazines would fall under suspicion that the rumor boomeranged in the shape of cancellations flowing into the magazine offices.

The New Republic then made haste to state editorially, as it had not bothered to do before, that the subscribers were unnecessarily agitated and were only victims of "the new war of nerves. Both the Civil Service Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the two agencies that probe the loyalty of Federal employees, flatly deny asking questions about the reading habits of Government employees."

Yet the executive order and the State Department code are inexcusably defective. In particular, the recent action of the State Department in denying most of those discharged both the right to a hearing and the right to resignation without prejudice betrayed a state of mind going beyond the requirements of security and entering the realm of persecution. The department must

be able to terminate employment on suspicion; this can be done in a number of ways; but the department cannot be allowed to stigmatize individuals and wreck lives on suspicion.

The first constructive step, perhaps, would be to make a clear distinction between the rights of an American citizen and the rights of a Government employee in a security agency. The private political views of a Hollywood writer, for example, hardly seem to be the proper consideration of the United States Government or a committee of Congress. An American citizen clearly must be protected in his right to think and speak freely—as a Communist, a Fascist, or whatever he wants; but no rule of the Constitution or of common sense requires the State Department to employ him.

Obviously the security agencies must be distinguished, not only from the citizenry at large, but from the rest of the Government. In doubtful cases the security agency rather than the individual must receive the benefit of the doubt—but it would be dangerous to extend this principle, say, to the National Park Service. The kind of nonsense embodied in the Rees bill and similar Congressional proposals involves a shocking infringement of civil liberties—and one which no consideration of national security can justify.

The second step would be to hedge round the process of dismissal from security agencies with much firmer procedural safeguards. At some point in the process full power to summon witnesses and to weigh evidence must be concentrated. That point plainly must be, not the investigative agency, but a Government review board to which all persons dismissed on security grounds can appeal. That board must acquaint the accused with the charges and permit him the protection of counsel. It must be able to obtain from the FBI full data concerning the reliability of the evidence; the situation is intolerable where the administrator must act on the basis of

statements from informants identified only by letters, numbers, or FBI code names.

The board must have the further power to interrogate these informants. The problem of permitting the accused to confront the informants, however, is not so simple as it sounds. Espionage breeds counterespionage; and Government counterespionage agencies simply cannot unveil their agents at every demand of a defense attorney. Where the evidence by itself is substantial, the review board cannot be expected to require confrontation. But, where the evidence is tenuous, the board must have the power of confronting the accused with the accuser. If the FBI does not think the case important enough to risk blowing a counterespionage chain, it must choose between the chain and the conviction.

Such a system must strengthen administrators in the fight to prevent witch-hunting from spreading any further through the executive branches the black taint of fear which discourages independence and originality of thought. It must just as resolutely reject the curious modern doctrine that prosecution of Communists or fellow travelers in any circumstances is a violation of civil liberties.

The press has an equal responsibility, for the final safeguard against injustice lies in the appeal to public opinion. *The Washington Post*, for example, has done a notable job in guarding against the violation of civil liberties; so too have *The New York Herald Tribune* and *The New York Times*.

The situation imposes a special responsibility too, I think, upon the American left. Liberals who complain when Parnell Thomas fails to distinguish between liberals and Communists should remember that too often they have failed to make that distinction themselves. History by now has surely documented that distinction to the point of surfeit; the attack on the free Socialist parties in the recent Belgrade

manifesto is only the most recent example of the deadly Soviet hostility to the non-Communist left.

The liberal movement in this country must reject the Communists as forthrightly as the British labor party has rejected them; it must not squander its energy and influence in covering up for them. This is the dictate of strategy as well as principle. Whatever conservatism may say about Wilson Wyatt or Leon Henderson and Americans for Democratic Action, or about such labor leaders as Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky, it cannot combat them by smearing them as fellow travelers.

But the situation imposes just as grave a responsibility upon American conservatives. The only criterion for disloyalty is superior loyalty to another country, and that reservations about the capitalist system or skepticism concerning the wisdom of the business community are by themselves no evidence at all of external loyalties. The essential fight in Europe today, for example, is between socialism and communism; and socialism has many supporters and sympathizers in this country who are resolutely antitotalitarian. If the leadership of this country were to be confined to men endorsed by the business community, then the United States would be doomed once more to that morass of confusion and failure into which business rule has invariably plunged us through our history.

There is no easy answer to this conflict of principles between civil liberty and national security. The practical results thus must depend too much for comfort upon the restraint and wisdom of individuals. This responsibility becomes only one aspect of the great moral challenge which confronts us. If we cannot handle this conflict of principle soberly and responsibly, if we cannot rise to the world crisis, then we lack the qualities of greatness as a nation, and we can expect to pay the price of hysteria or of paralysis.

60,000,000 Children Need YOUR Help

(Continued from page 14)

to \$40,000,000 with an initial contribution of \$15,000,000. This country will contribute \$57 for every \$43 contributed by other Governments. The remaining assets of UNRRA have been made available to the Fund; Canada, Australia, France, and other nations have already made their contributions.

The \$400,000,000 is to be used to furnish a daily supplementary meal to about 20,000,000 infants, children, adolescents, nursing mothers, and pregnant women, at an average cost of 6 cents per day, or \$20 per year. Each country will contribute what it can from its own resources, probably an average of about one half of the cost.

Almost as necessary as food is the need for clothing and footwear for children in the colder countries, also cod-liver oil or its substitutes, medical supplies for child institutions and clinics; \$50,000,000 is the estimated amount needed for this type of aid, and it is this amount which is to come from individuals.

To raise this sum, a "United Nations' Appeal for Children" with a proposal of "one-day's pay" from each contributor has been planned. This campaign will probably get under way early in 1948, and it is through this means that each of us may make our contribution directly to these children. Many of us are helping in various ways at the present time and such help must continue, but large-scale help under international sponsorship is the only solution to a problem of this magnitude.

The ICEF will work in close co-operation with the World Health Organization because millions of children face tuberculosis and other ill effects of a deficient and milkless diet; also with the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Emergency Food Council.

The Chief Technical Consultant to the Children's Fund is Dr. Martha Eliot, As-

sociate Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau. A short time ago, upon her return from Europe, Dr. Eliot said:

"I have just come back from Europe after looking in the faces of hundreds and thousands of big and little children . . . they were children who passed me on the streets, children in the schools, clinics, hospitals, in war orphanages, and other child-care centers. I went to Europe to find out for the ICEF what these children most desperately need. I know now what it is.

"The children in the cities and villages of these war-stricken countries need many things, but of all their needs milk comes first. They need milk in great quantities; they need it now. . . . Unless great volumes of milk start to move from countries such as ours that are lush with supplies, there are going to be millions of children who may be brought down to starvation levels. . . . Milk is first; then come many needs—shoes for instance . . . and medical equipment. Children's hospitals need beds and bedding. Doctors and nurses need coats and uniforms. . . . Because the needs are so great a priority plan for relieving them has to be agreed upon. As a step toward such a plan I went abroad to learn what children's workers on the job say are the most urgent needs of the children."

"I know when the appeal is made to the fathers and mothers and children on this side of the Atlantic there will be no hesitation, no begrudging. Even though few of our people have seen the stunted bodies, the listless spirits of the little boys and girls of Europe who need our help, our imaginations are quick and our hearts are large."

Our Presbyterian Church has given its support to this Fund in the Social Action Pronouncements adopted at the 1947 General Assembly; we, the members, can do no less.

These pitiful children are the contemporaries of our children; together, some years hence, they will be trying to continue what we are now beginning to do in the way of international co-operation; it is not enough to care just for our own; as a matter of enlightened self-interest as well as in a spirit of Christian service, these other children are our children too. They are struggling for survival; mortality rates are high. The rehabilitation of the world depends upon the restoration of its children to moral and physical health.

May we not fail them and, in so doing, fail our own.

The Workshop

Synod of Ohio. One year ago, upon recommendation of the Committee on Social Education and Action, the Synod of Ohio voted unanimously to recommend that the Churches of this synod "perfect the permanent organization of parish Committees on Social Education and Action and actuate them to the end that the Church may become a still more effective agent in the development of an informed public opinion."

Your committee has worked diligently during the year to secure compliance with that resolution.

In eight of the fourteen presbyteries of the Synod of Ohio, encouraging progress has been made, so that among the 351 Churches of those presbyteries, we have the names of 184 parish chairmen with whom to correspond, and through whom this important work may be promoted, as follows:

	Churches	S.E.A.	Per Chmn.	Per Cent
Athens	28	13	46	
Cincinnati	73	32	44	
Columbus	53	33	62	
Dayton	43	32	74	
Mahoning	43	15	35	
Marion	32	30	94	
Portsmouth	32	17	52	
Toledo	47	15	32	
	351	187		52

In the other six presbyteries, so far as we know, no parish chairmen have as yet been appointed. We hope, with the help of the presbyterial committees in those areas, to secure the names of parish chairmen during the coming year.

Every parish chairman whose name we have received has been given a year's subscription to our excellent monthly publication *SOCIAL PROGRESS*. Each one also received a copy of the minutes of the Jan-

uary meeting of the synod committee, so that a beginning has been made on the task of informing them on their duties and functions.

Each chairman will also receive copies of the resolutions of the General Assembly.

Already, the value of this elementary effort is beginning to show. In one rural parish, Frankfort, the parish chairman, Mrs. Mary K. McIlvaine, has been responsible for initiating a fruitful movement to improve and expand the local recreational facilities for young people.

In Columbus, parish chairmen throughout the presbytery were gathered together in January for an afternoon and evening conference led by the distinguished layman Wilbur LaRoe.

In Cincinnati, the S.E.A. committee sponsored a series of four educational conferences on juvenile delinquency, race relations, labor and management, and world order. These were followed, in March, by a city-wide conference under the auspices of the Greater Cincinnati Council of Churches, in which 75 S.E.A. parish chairmen from eight denominations polled their thinking on four vital local and national issues.

These significant early results demonstrate the potential value of organizational effort in city and rural parishes and lead your committee, for the current year, to present the following as urgent resolutions:

1. We call upon the Churches of this synod to perfect the permanent organization of parish committees on Social Education and Action and to actuate them to the end that the Church may become a still more effective agent in the development of an informed public opinion. Specifically, now that each presbytery has a Committee on Social Education and Action, we recommend that each Church,

within the coming year, find and appoint interested, educationally minded persons to comprise a parish committee on Social Education and Action. Minimum duties of this committee should include familiarizing themselves with the pronouncements and literature of our Church in this important field, and undertaking to get such literature better circulated and better understood within the Church. We call upon the presbyterial committees on Social Education and Action to secure lists of the chairmen of such Church committee and to arrange a meeting of them in each presbytery next autumn.

2. To insure reasonable continuity of effort, we recommend that parish and presbyterial chairmen for Social Education and Action be retained in office for a period of three years, to give them time to learn their duties and familiarize themselves with their work.

3. We recommend that Synod's Committee on Social Education and Action be allowed the amount of \$250 for this year's budget.

—Reported by Harrison M. Sayre,
Chairman, Social Education and
Action Committee.

Film Forum Review is taking guess-work out of film selection for discussion programs. The publisher of the quarterly *Review*, the Institute of Adult Education of Teachers College, and the National Committee on Film Forums screen and evaluate 16mm. films for adult discussion. Reviews of about forty films appear in each issue of *Film Forum Review*, 525 West 120th Street, New York 27. Subscription, \$2.00. Film-review subject schedule for 1947: spring—international relations; summer—child care, education, recreation, delinquency; fall—intergroup relations, housing, community planning, community organization, health.

—Resolved, newsletter published by Baldwin and Mermey, New York, N. Y.

Social Action. Those favoring race-track gambling tried hard to push through a law legalizing pari-mutuel betting, during the last session of the state legislature at Austin, Texas. They thought they had succeeded, but it became publicized, and Church groups, women's clubs, and even businessmen, converged upon Austin and presented such strong opposition to the bill that even though it was reported favorably out of committee, and it died in the House.

Liquor legislation likewise called for action. Into the liquor-control bill some friend of liquor slipped the proviso that an incorporated town or a justice precinct within a dry county could, by a local option election, allow the sale of alcoholic beverages within its own limits. This would almost nullify county local option. It passed the House while no one was looking. Then dry interests suddenly came awake and flooded the governor's desk with requests for its veto. Governor Jester listened to these requests and vetoed the bill. That was social action. Eternal vigilance is the price of a law-abiding, moral community.

—Reported by M. S. Pinkerton, Chairman, Texas Committee on S. E. A.

One hundred and fifty Los Angeles, California, area ministers have issued a joint statement against universal military training, based on its inadequacies as a method of defense and its denial of good faith in the United Nations.

Other arguments they present are that UMT leads toward militarization, restricts freedom of conscience, and exposes immature youth to immoral pressures.

They declare the report of the President's Commission on UMT to be "self-contradictory, revealing the futility and astounding waste . . . involved."

—September, 1947, Fellowship.

Note: A study of the report of the President's Commission on UMT is important to the informed discussion of this issue. It may be secured from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. 75 cents.

WORLD ORDER

WHO. IC *

NO, THE title is neither Russian nor Arabic. It is the alphabetical designation for World Health Organization Interim Commission. The fourth session of this organization met at the Palais des Nations in Geneva from August 30 to September 13 and gave material support on an international scale to mankind's eternal fight against disease.

Representatives from fifteen nations agreed upon these immediate activities:

1. Positive, aggressive action to combat such world-wide public health menaces as tuberculosis, malaria, venereal disease, and influenza.
2. Plans for the First World Health Assembly, which is expected to be held next spring or summer.
3. Budget to finance its 1948 program.

The decisions for implementing this program included the following:

Tuberculosis

Because tuberculosis has assumed epidemic proportions in some countries, the WHO. IC agreed to send small demonstration teams to countries asking for assistance in order to initiate intensive programs of BCG. vaccination.

Malaria

The WHO. IC agreed that the second meeting of the Expert Committee on Malaria should be held in Washington during May, 1948, during the Fourth International Congresses on Malaria and on Tropical Medicine, so that other international figures might contribute information. The WHO. IC received information that DDT at last seemed to offer a relatively cheap means for controlling the malarial disease menace.

* Newsletter, issued by the Public Information Office, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

Influenza

To help to combat or prevent another world-wide influenza epidemic such as took place in 1918 and 1919, an International Influenza Center in England was authorized. The offer by Dr. Thomas Parran (U.S.A.) Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service, to make available the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, as a regional influenza laboratory, was accepted.

New Expert Committees

Because syphilis and gonorrhea have increased in alarming proportions during and after World War II it is hoped that international experts on venereal diseases will be able to meet soon for the purpose of planning a world-wide campaign.

The new Expert Committee on International Epidemic Control will restudy existing international conventions to prevent epidemics from spreading around the globe and to cope with the problem of disease control in connection with modern developments in transportation.

Miscellaneous Items

The WHO. IC decided to hold the First World Health Assembly in the western hemisphere within six months after the twenty-sixth United Nations member ratifies the WHO constitution. To date, fifteen UN members have approved the document. Eleven additional nations are almost certain to ratify before the end of 1947. Among the items to be placed on the agenda of the First World Health Assembly will be studies of alcoholism and plague.

For protecting the health of the globe the WHO. IC approved a 1948 budget of \$1,528,324, for its general fund. In addition, \$1,500,000 from UNRRA will finance a field services program.

About Books

Soil and Steel, by P. Alston Waring and Clinton S. Golden. Harper & Brothers. \$3.00.

This is an effectively written and well documented book by a farmer and a former industrial worker. It contains a strong appeal for better understanding between farmers and workers, who, we are told, compose eighty-five per cent of our population. The authors have some prominence in their respective fields: P. Alston Waring has been a farmer in Pennsylvania for over twenty years. He has been active in co-operatives and conservation work, and has contributed numerous articles to farm journals and national periodicals. Clinton S. Golden has risen through union ranks to the position of International Vice-President of the United Steel Workers of America, CIO. During the war he acted as Vice-Chairman of the War Production Board and War Manpower Commission.

The book advocates the growing interdependence of our people, necessary through advancing technology, the halting curve of population growth, the closing frontier, and the threat of unemployment. The writers believe that mechanization makes workers dependent upon a single skill and hence less secure. Employees lack appreciation of the entire process of work. Likewise farmers are losing security. There is increasing tenancy. Through specialization many farmers lack a rounded program of production. Commercialism is a growing emphasis and hinders full enjoyment of farm life.

For protection, workers organize unions; businessmen institute combines and trusts; and farmers develop associations, co-operatives, and "the farm bloc." Labor advocates legislation to offset uncertainty.

The authors contend that pressure groups have tended to aline farmers with

business and finance against labor. Class antagonism and conflict can be offset by increased understanding of one another, recognition of the broader interests of all, and insight into the way in which our lives are bound together. Good wages mean good markets, and farm security means a certain food supply available to all. Regionalism, such as has been demonstrated in the TVA, and in the effort to develop a Missouri Valley Authority, can lead to co-operation between heretofore antagonistic groups.

Considerable space is devoted to telling how the farmers "got that way," and to delineating the forces that mold the attitudes of the workers. The book includes a very stimulating discussion of two steel firms. The first of these firms literally bred antagonism with labor by its opposition. The result is admittedly radical union leadership. The second firm built on trust and avoided charges of irresponsibility. The result is a dependable union easy to work with, and production increased by fivefold.

Messrs. Golden and Waring have obvious interest in emphasizing the essential alliance between workmen and farmers. Yet it cannot be said that they are against big business as such.

The profit motive by itself is suspect! It must be tempered by understanding of the public good, and by the need of a balanced working economy. Wages must rise as productivity per man-hour increases.

The case histories in the book describing farmers and workers, together with the documentation of conflict areas, add to the importance of the study. We wish to commend this book to the attention of the reader who wishes to keep informed on social trends. It will prove useful for discussion groups.

JOHN A. GARDNER

Laymen Speaking, selected and edited by Wallace C. Speers. Association Press. \$2.00.

I have read *Laymen Speaking* with much interest and regard it as highly valuable. This little volume proves conclusively that our laymen see the relevancy between the work of the Church and the formidable issues confronting our world. It proves further that our laymen realize the importance of carrying Christ to the community—something which the minister is not in a position to do. I wish that every Christian layman could read this book.

WILBUR LAROE, JR.

Primer for Protestants, by James Hastings Nichols, professor in the Federated Theological Faculty at the University of Chicago. Association Press. \$1.00.

Mr. Nichols has written a much-needed book, dealing with the history of "Evangelical Christianity" and the basic principles of Protestantism. The author gives a clear statement of the relationship of Protestantism to the total history and growth of the Christian Church. He proves that a "Protestant" is "one who stands for something." The account of Protestantism's origin and development, with a careful analysis of its meaning, is rewarding reading. There are some interesting and arresting statements: "Protestantism represents a genuine revival of the life and gospels of the apostles. . . . On several important issues Protestantism is in the main line of western Christian history and it is modern Romanism which represents the innovation and 'protest.'" "The Roman Catholic hierarchy at last feels strong enough (in America) to promote aggressively those views which challenge sharply the American Protestant heritage." Dr. Nichols states that the rivalry between denominations is no more serious than that between "Jesuits and Dominicans, Irish Catholics and German Catholics." He points out that the Evangelical Catholics are also in "protest"

against some of the abuses of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Roman Catholics admit that their communion is at its best in Protestant countries where it does not dominate. At some points Dr. Nichols is equally critical of Protestantism.

Part two deals with Protestant principles. When the historian author becomes a theologian, the result is not altogether satisfactory. One wishes that part two was as clear and well done as the historical survey. Many evangelical Protestants will disagree with Dr. Nichols' interpretations of Christian belief. Such a statement as "Jesus brings us closer to God simply by the moral influence of his integrity" will not be easily acceptable to a great many readers.

However, the author puts a firm historical ground under Protestantism, and as a source book for study groups, it is a valuable and helpful volume.

GORDON W. MATTICE

Taxation for Prosperity, by Randolph E. Paul. Bobbs Merrill Co. \$4.00.

The concept of taxation as an instrument for the maintenance of prosperity is not a new one, but it has seldom, if ever, been expressed so forcefully and with so many specific recommendations. Because of his experience as a tax practitioner, public servant, writer and teacher, Mr. Paul's ideas should command the serious consideration of legislators. This book considers the history of Federal taxation in this country, the problems of any future tax program, and a suggested tax policy in all fields of national taxation from excise taxes to Federal sales taxes.

The second section of the book considers the errors of the past in order to discover the boundaries of an intelligent tax program for the future and pleads for a consideration of the effect of taxes on employment, prices, and national income. Since the highest function of taxes is to achieve social and economic results as well as to raise revenue, Mr. Paul points out that the United States must decide in

general outline what sort of world it wants before it can adopt an intelligent tax program. He believes that the goal of taxation should include full employment, a high level of national income, and the prevention of undue concentration of wealth. The adjustment of income and social security tax rates in order to curb inflation in one phase of the business cycle and to expand purchasing power and stimulate investment in the other phase of this cycle will maintain a high level of both employment and national income. Progressive graduation of the income tax as well as estate and gift taxation check the undue concentration of wealth.

In the last section of his book, Mr. Paul considers revisions of the individual income tax, the corporation tax, excise taxes, estate and gift taxes, customs duties, and social security taxes as possible means of accomplishing social or economic objectives. Specific issues are treated in a non-technical fashion which will be understandable in almost all cases by the layman. Among other recommendations, Mr. Paul believes the income of closely held corporations should be reported as though the stockholders were partners; he would allow larger corporations some credit for distributed earnings and, in recessions, for new capital expenditures. He urges uniform treatment of the income of married couples either through allowing all spouses to divide their income as is now permitted in community property states or through requiring all married people to file joint returns. He recommends that part of the cost of the social security program be supplied by Government outlays. He also urges gradual reduction of tariffs.

Mr. Paul pleads that the United States plan its tax program in advance when events can be shaped, rather than enact tax legislation hysterically during a panic. "The power to tax does not involve the power to destroy . . . but rather the power to fulfill a better destiny."

FRANCIS L. VAN DUSEN

Why We Act That Way, by John Homer Miller. Abingdon-Cokesbury. \$1.75.

Subtitled "Practical Aids for Happier Living," this is the second volume of similar intent by the able minister of the Hope Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass. The author's effective chapter headings suggest the content of his book: "What You Want Most of All," "Being Somebody Without Trying," "Making Yourself Fit to Live With," "Don't Belittle Your Dreams."

The volume is simply and clearly written. It uses a wealth of illustrations from literature and newspapers and life experience of the great. Certainly it is a symbol of the increasing sense of need felt by many ministers to discuss life situations in the light of Christian truth.

In the face of the wide interest demonstrated by such noteworthy volumes as Fosdick's *On Being a Real Person* and Liebman's *Peace of Mind*, one is puzzled why such otherwise able authors as Mr. Miller resort to a hortatory approach even bordering on moralizing, whereas no such element can be found in the books that have been most widely circulated. It is as if answers were given before readers were sure the author understood the depth and reality of the questions. Somehow the application of religion to actual life situations must also, and at the same time, see those very situations in the depth in which current theological rediscovery has revealed them.

SEWARD HILTNER

The Sin of Our Age, by D. R. Davies. The Macmillan Company. \$2.00.

This book is well worth reading and buying. The theme is the growing secularization of Western, now world-wide, civilization, beginning with the Renaissance and continuing until this morning. The author traces the "dethronement" of God and "enthronement" of man as the pseudofaith of a race "racing" to destruction with accelerated deterioration.

After a page or two of not too clear generalizations, the author gets going in earnest and never lets up his trip-hammer blows of clear reasoning until the end.

Occasionally, the book rises to great heights of warmth when the thoughts, proofs, and conclusions tumble forward with Niagara-like ferocity. Mr. Davies, on a Promethean scale, reviews the colossal achievements of human creative genius, together with the most disastrous failures to use these advances wisely.

Four hundred years ago, the arts, including architecture, were God-centered; now they are symbolized by power stations, bank buildings, savage music, and painting glorifying a cubistic man reduced to a machine. Four hundred years of history are summed up and epitomized in the life of one man, Hitler; when he started out so boastfully, he never intended the ruin of his country. At a time when we have the know-how to make this world a paradise for all, we are obsessed with the problem of sheer personal and racial survival and social security—the latter meaning that “even though their bellies be bursting with chicken, the vast majority of people would still be poor if a minority of bellies were bursting with turkey.” These chapters, based on a course of addresses given in England, show clearly how the abolition of otherworldliness and the very “dissolution” of the spirit of man, reducing man to no more than one more animal, leads only to man’s own enslavement by the strong. All the social systems the race has ever tried, i.e., slavery, feudalism, capitalism, communism, have led to the exploitation of man by man, and the degradation of the person.

The only remedy for man, as Mr. Davies so forcefully shows, demands nothing less than the restoration of Christian dogma and belief. This must soar above ecclesiastical pronouncements of good advice to society. Such a restoration, and consequent return of hope, trembles in the

balance—depending on whether or not we shall witness in our time the miraculous return to the orthodox faith of our fathers as founded on the Word of God.

JOHN T. WRIGGINS

Journey Through the Bible, by Walter D. Ferguson. Harper & Brothers. \$3.50.

This fascinating road began “somewhere in a fragrant Eastern garden, wound across the dusty country of the Fertile Crescent to Palestine and Egypt, took us by sharp turns to Ephesus and Rome, and came to an end on a bare and rocky island in the Aegean Sea. What a heterogeneous mass of material! Is it truly a book, or just an anthology of Hebrew and Greek literature?” The author ably proves his thesis: “The Bible has more vitality, humanity, and timeliness than all the current best sellers put together.”

The chapter names and divisions are arresting and intriguing. Who will not want to read: “Dust and Fire”; “The Baker Takes a Wife”; “The Little Farmer on Route One”; “The Misty Mid-Region of Weir”? The writing is fluid and fast. Escape is difficult until the last sentence is done. Insights are deep and reverent, but never blindly partisan. With some conclusions many will bluntly disagree, but in disagreeing will admit their vivid and genial cogency. The author’s enthusiasm for the Book is exuberant and highly contagious. He calls himself a layman. Few such are as easily at home both in the Bible and mid books about it. Never pedestrian, in places lyric, with frequent chuckles, and penetrating descriptions of character and conduct, the journey ends even better than it begins.

To keep even brief company with this strong-minded and gracious guide makes one hurry to the Bible to read more wisely and eagerly, for Christ is exalted and the writings are burnished.

ROLLO C. LA PORTE

Why I Remain a Negro

*By Walter White **

THE scene was a New York duplex apartment. The people were liberals, economically as well as intellectually well off. They were discussing the race question. I had been invited to speak. One of the women, listening, seemed agitated by something I had said. She scribbled on a piece of paper and handed it to another woman—a woman whose skin was reddish brown, a woman who was probably colored. “Is Mr. White white or colored?” the message inquired. The other scribbled an answer and passed it back. “I am Mrs. White,” the reply said. The white woman, reading it, became excited. Hastily she penciled a comment: “What a wonderful talk! This is the first time I’ve had the opportunity to hear him.”

I am a Negro. My skin is white, my eyes are blue, my hair is blond. The traits of my race are nowhere visible upon me. Not long ago I stood one morning on a subway platform in Harlem. As the train came in, I stepped back for safety. My heel came down upon the toe of the man behind me. I turned to apologize to him. He was a Negro, and his face as he stared at me was hard

and full of the piled-up bitterness of a thousand lynchings and a million nights in shacks and tenements and “nigger towns.” “Why don’t you look where you’re going?” he said sullenly. “You white folks are always trampling on colored people.” Just then one of my friends came up and asked how the fight had gone in Washington—there was a filibuster against legislation for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. The Negro on whose toes I had stepped listened, then spoke to me penitently.

“Are you Walter White of the NAACP? I’m sorry I spoke to you that way. I thought you were white.”

I am not white. There is nothing within my mind and heart that tempts me to think I am. Yet I realize acutely that the only characteristic that matters to either the white or the colored race—the appearance of whiteness—is mine. White is the rejection of all color; black is the absorption of every shade. There is magic in a white skin; there is tragedy, loneliness, exile, in a black skin. Why then do I insist that I am a Negro, when nothing compels me to do so but myself?

Why did the white woman who listened to me speaking become flustered when the woman she chose

* Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Reprinted from the *Saturday Review of Literature*, October 11, 1947. Used with permission.

for her question turned out to be my wife? What made her confused, bewildered, and incapable of direct and efficient communication? It was the enigma of a black man occupying a white body, the presentation in fact of a theory to which millions give lip service, never really believing it is so—that all men are brothers under the skin.

The lady's agitation was natural. Suppose the skin of every Negro in America were suddenly to turn white. What would happen to all the notions about Negroes, the idols on which are built race prejudice and race hatred? What would become of their presumed shiftlessness, their cowardice, their dishonesty, their stupidity, their body odor? Would they not merge with the shiftlessness, the cowardice, the dishonesty, the stupidity, and the body odor of the whites? Would they not then be subject to individual judgment in matters of abilities, energies, honesty, cleanliness, as are whites? How else could they be judged?

Many Negroes are judged as whites. Every year approximately 12,000 white-skinned Negroes disappear—people whose absence cannot be explained by death or emigration. Nearly every one of the 14,000,000 discernible Negroes in the United States knows at least one member of his race who is "passing"—the magic word which means that some Negroes can get by as whites, men and women who have decided that

they will be happier and more successful if they flee from the proscription and humiliation which the American color line imposes on them. Often these emigrants achieve success in business, the professions, the arts and sciences. Many of them have married white people, lived happily with them, and produced families. Sometimes they tell their husbands or wives of their Negro blood, sometimes not. Who are they? Mostly people of no great importance, but some of them prominent figures, including a few members of Congress, certain writers, and several organizers of movements to "keep the Negroes and other minorities in their places." Some of the most vehement public haters of Negroes are themselves secretly Negroes.

They do not present openly the paradox of the color line. It is I, with my insistence, day after day, year in and year out, that I am a Negro, who provoke the reactions to which now I am accustomed: the sudden intake of breath, the bewildered expression of the face, the confusion of the eyes, the muddled fragmentary remarks—"But you do not look . . ." "I mean, I would never have known . . ." "Of course if you didn't want to admit . . ." Sometimes the eyes blink rapidly and the tongue, out of control, says, "Are you sure?"

I have tried to imagine what it is like to have me presented to a white
(Continued on page 18)

The Home—Restricted

*By Buell G. Gallagher **

"The alien who settles beside you shall be treated like a native, and you must love him as you love yourself; for you were aliens yourselves in the land of Egypt." —Lev. 19:34 (Moffatt's Translation).

HOME." That is one of the first words framed by the lips of childhood. It is one of the finest words in the treasury of any language. More genuine and honest sentiment gathers around the home than about almost any other institution of life.

It is in the home that marriage is crowned with the laughter of little children, and that smiles shine through tears. It is in the home that love is seasoned, and matures from infatuation to abiding comradeship. It is in the home that the character of tomorrow's men and women is in large part determined.

Man can dispense with many things; but there are three basic essentials which every man must have to sustain life: food, clothing, and shelter. And as shelter becomes housing and housing becomes homes, the entire character of civilization is reflected in the kind and quality of its homes.

* Professor of Christian Ethics, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California. Reprinted from *Southern California Presbyterian*, October, 1947. Used with permission.

With all these values clustered in home life, the home becomes a basic foundation of society. Whatever undermines the home, or hems it in, restricting its chances for good and threatening its integrity, is an attack on every family.

To create ghettos, and to crowd families together in them, is not only to destroy privacy and debase life; it is to declare that men are of less value than beasts. In any decent dairy, every cow has her stall; but millions of people in this most prosperous nation in all history are living two and three and four families to a one-family house, sleeping four to six people in a single room. Millions more are living in substandard quarters, with poor plumbing and very little of that, with grown children sharing the parents' sleeping quarters, with so-called "paying guests" using the family's bedroom while children bed down on the divan in the living room and parents sleep in the kitchen. It was not mere rhetoric when the late President Roosevelt pointed out that one third of the nation is ill-housed.

Now, all these ills are shared alike by thirty or more millions of our population. That is bad enough. But upon our racial minorities the burden falls with crushing weight. Where others are crowded, Negroes

and Chinese are overcrowded. Where others are overcrowded, racial minorities are packed in. Recent testimony in Washington stated that if all the people of the United States were crowded together as tightly as are the residents of a few blocks in Harlem, the entire population could live on Manhattan Island.

I

The principal device used to promote this ghetto living is the race restrictive covenant.

After the First World War, the United States Supreme Court ruled that it was illegal to establish by law the zones in which certain races might live. The result was the new device of the restrictive covenant, whereby individual property owners, by private contract, agree with each other that none of them will sell (or, in California, rent) to a nonwhite family. The courts have ruled that, while it is unconstitutional to pass a law restricting housing by race, it is not illegal to accomplish the same purpose by private contract. These restrictive covenants now blanket large sections of most of the principal cities of the North and West.

Equally effective and pernicious are the private agreements of realtors. Incorporated in the "Code of Ethics" of most real-estate boards is an agreement not to sell, rent, or lease housing to specified groups in "restricted" areas.

Until a few weeks ago, the Fed-

eral Housing practices, particularly in the making of Federal loans for housing, were based on these covenants and codes, so that loans to buy or build were approved strictly in accordance with these ghetto patterns.

Finally, where covenants, codes, and Federal loans may not cover the ground completely, local pressures of white residents take care of the situation. A Negro veteran's partly finished home is burned in Redwood City, California, and the arsonists go unconvicted. A leading realtor makes utterances that openly invite further antagonism toward Negroes and Chinese in the Peninsula area south of San Francisco, and within two days the residents of Palo Alto are active in running a Negro couple out of town. In Chicago, bombs are used to encourage Negroes to move out. Rioting and violence break out in Detroit. Violence, and the threat of violence, stands ready to intimidate the minority family which defies the social taboo and moves out of the ghetto. For the less aggressive minority family, social ostracism suffices. And school children can be counted on to take up where their elders leave off, completing with words and blows the antagonisms adults have fostered.

Covenants, realtors' codes, Federal loan practices, community pressures, arson, bombing, violence, ostracism—these are the unlovely devices that racial prejudice uses as

it hems in the homes of the minorities of America.

II

And what happens under these circumstances? Everybody pays—and pays dearly. The minority man pays more for identical housing in the nonrestricted area. His premium runs anywhere from five to thirty per cent, depending upon the degree of overcrowding and congestion of the minority and the relative phase of the economic cycle.

But what about the member of the majority? He may not realize it, but he pays too. If he did not have a restrictive covenant on his house, and if his broker were not limited to Caucasians only as he puts the house on the market, the white owner could sell to the highest bidder—the nonwhite who is trying to get a decent home in a noncongested area. The owner who signed the covenant to "protect his property values" has actually acted in restraint of trade, eliminating the highest bidders from his market, agreeing to take a loss or lesser profit when he sells.

Or, if he owns his house, not for investment, but as a home he intends to occupy permanently, nevertheless he pays heavily for the ghetto which his signature on the restrictive covenant helps to maintain. He pays for it in the fact that slum properties which he helps to create by insisting on congestion mean decreased tax revenues. That means an increase in

his own taxes. He pays for it also in the increased cost of maintaining the institutions to take care of the delinquency the ghetto breeds. He pays for it in hidden ways—but he pays.

Yet, these financial costs are the least important part of the picture. Much more important are the cultural and spiritual costs of residential segregation. These too are paid for both by the segregated and the segregators.

Segregation always means overcrowding, and overcrowding always results ultimately in an area that looks run down and uninviting. When a group of people are thus crowded together in a physically undesirable area, all the people who live there get lumped together in the minds of those who live outside the ghetto. Fears develop. Hatreds grow. People do not meet and talk as friends. Irresponsible rumors spread. Tensions mount. Anything can happen. Often, it does.

The history of race riots underlines the point. There has seldom been a race riot in areas where whites and Negroes lived together and knew each other. Strife goes with segregation.

But even though strife and conflict may not reach the level of open violence, the sullen hatreds and mistrust which segregation breeds are a universal accompaniment of residential segregation. The subtler forms of the virus of racism feed on

(Continued on page 30)

Finding Brotherhood a Natural Experience

*By William H. Molbon **

DURING the past summer, St. John's Presbyterian Church conducted its second "Adventure in Brotherhood"—an experience that permits children of Negro and white congregations to live together for one week or more in their respective homes.

On June 26, two girls from St. John's Church went to Jonesville, Michigan, where they remained for a week as the guest of the Presbyterian minister and his family. The two girls, about the ages of the minister's daughters, found many interests in common with their new friends and all showed unusual musical and dramatic ability. It seemed they stimulated one another to produce the best. Not only did the girls from St. John's Church have the opportunity of sharing the pleasures of this home, but in the community—which is 99 and 99/100 per cent white—they were received with respect. On August 21, the girls from Jonesville, with their five-year-old brother, journeyed to Detroit and spent a week with their friends.

On July 7, five children—three boys and two girls—journeyed to Blissfield, Michigan, where for a week they were the guests of two families. At the central playground

and in the old swimming hole of Blissfield, they met a great number of new friends and enjoyed the opportunity of exchanging songs and relating experiences. One of the boys, a native of Blissfield, which is 100 per cent white, came to Detroit in late August and spent a week with his friends. Both this boy and his parents were highly pleased with the conduct and general reactions of the children in these periods.

On July 14, six children journeyed to the upper peninsula and were received in Calumet, Marquette, and Iron Mountain. It was a great experience for these boys and girls, coming from the congested and noisy city of Detroit, to go into the wide-open spaces of the upper peninsula. In a number of cases, it was the first time the children had ever crossed a body of water, and they thrilled as they journeyed across the Straits of Mackinac. In the communities where they visited, a great number of youth and adults had never seen a Negro. It seems to us that there is great value in having such persons become acquainted with Negroes on a normal basis rather than through some tragedy or prejudiced story.

Seven children were privileged to spend two weeks in Beaverton, a rural community in Northern Michigan. Here they had the opportunity

* Pastor, St. John's Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan.

of helping to gather in the hay, milk cows, feed chickens, and do some of the chores about the farm. They also attended Vacation Church School and had periods for playing and swimming.

Because of the limited number of communities able to participate in this experiment, a number of our children remained in the city. Three who had been slated for a particular community were sent to Gregory, Michigan, to participate in an inter-racial project much in keeping with our ideal.

As we look at the past summer, we feel that much was accomplished. In a number of cases, parents went along with their children and arranged to arrive in time for lunch or dinner. This gave the adults the opportunity of meeting and enjoying fellowship. In the case of one white lad who came to Detroit from Alma, Michigan, and stayed with friends who visited him the previous summer, the question was asked by his parents, "What do you think of this experiment 'Adventure in Brotherhood'?" His reply was: "What are you talking about? I haven't seen any experiment. I met a lot of fine people and had a grand time. That's all I know." It appears to us that this is

the type of reaction we desire to see. It is the thing for which we are working. In the rural area, girls and boys had something of interest to show the urban children, and in the cities the girls and boys had much to interest the children from the rural areas. Along with all this, one could see the power of personality at work, once it was loosed from inhibitions or prejudice. The number of letters that have come to us and the reaction of the press, as well as people in local communities, make us certain that this is a sure way of working toward realizing the Kingdom of God, for we could understand the meaning of coming to God as little children.

It seems quite obvious to us that the opportunity for people to learn something of the good qualities of others before they are introduced to their weaknesses or shortcomings will do much to cause all of us to evaluate, more carefully, a person or a group before we pass opinions. In the case of these boys and girls, they have had certain experiences that will cause them to realize the values of friendship beyond the immediate group. When some dark and morbid experience is related to them, they cannot forget the good experiences they had this past summer.

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. Why is there not the patient confidence in the ultimate victory of man? Is there any better of equal hope?"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Maine Lifts Its Lamp "Beside the Golden Door"

*By Pearl Farmer Richardson**

TRADITIONALLY, America has welcomed those from other lands who prefer the democratic way of life. The United States is dotted with communities made up largely of religious and nationality groups who have come from across the seas in search of religious, political, and economic freedom.

Since the question of America's receiving persons who are displaced because of the recent war and do not want to return to their land of origin because of the fear of persecution is constantly before the public mind, inquiry naturally turns to those long-established settlements across this continent and they are being re-evaluated as current legislation on the displaced persons is being discussed.

New Sweden, one such settlement in the woods of Maine, seems literally to be a miniature of the proposed Stratton Bill which would admit 100,000 persons per year to the United States over a period of four years. It was more than seventy years ago that legislation provided for these Swedish families to come to the State of Maine at the rate of 100 per-

sons per year for a period of five years.

June 25, 1947, marked the seventy-seventh anniversary of the day the first group sailed from the shores of Old Sweden on the steamship *Orlando* for this new homeland in township fifteen range three where the head of every family was to have 100 acres of woodland for a farm. Seven years prior to this sailing date the Honorable William Widgery Thomas, Jr., had landed in Sweden, sent there by President Lincoln as one of the thirty "war consuls" of the United States. It was largely through the foresight and initiative of Mr. Thomas that this first Swedish colony was established in the Pine Tree State.

Six years after leaving Sweden some thirty of the firstcomers in the colony were naturalized by the Supreme Court sitting in Houlton early in March, 1876, and a month later New Sweden was legally organized into a plantation. This was a busy day for the new plantation in the northland, for an election was held and the first officers were chosen on the same day. Nineteen years later this plantation was incorporated into a town, on January 29, 1895, and the first town election was held in March

* Former Kansas Synodical Secretary for Social Education and Action and Vice-President, Speakers' Research Committee for the United Nations.

that year, near the turn of the century.

The more than fifty years following have been eventful ones in the history of New Sweden, and its history parallels that of Aroostook County, the farthestmost county of Maine. The belt of forest dividing the new settlement and the fertile fields of the colonists was cut through; boundary lines were soon forgotten, and they were all residents of the State of Maine, all contributing to "America in the making."

This project had been so successful that it was no surprise when the Maine legislature of 1947 passed a bill that again would welcome those from other lands to their state. The bill speaks for itself, but action is delayed until Federal legislation clears the way for state participation in the displaced persons problem.

Preamble. Whereas, the problem of the resettlement and readjustment of displaced persons of Europe is one of the major problems confronting framers of permanent world peace; and

The people of the State of Maine, descendants of former tyranny's refugees who sought freedom and opportunity within these boundaries, express deep sympathy for the plight of today's displaced persons; and . . .

It seems likely that displaced persons from these Baltic nations will never be able to return to their native lands which have lost their sovereignty and have been absorbed by a stronger power; now therefore, *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Maine, as follows:*

Statement of policy. It shall be and is

hereby declared to be the policy of the State of Maine to encourage the settlement within its borders of displaced persons of Baltic origin; provided nevertheless that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to discourage immigrants of other nationalities.

Maine development commission to arrange for settlement through negotiations with the Department of State, Department of Justice, and the United Nations. The Maine development commission is hereby empowered and authorized to negotiate with the U. S. Department of State, with the U. S. Department of Justice, and with the United Nations, or with any proper agency or department of the United Nations, to arrange for the settlement in this state of such displaced persons of Baltic origin who are able to buy, or who may have bought for them, private property within the state owned by private persons.

In preparation for the passage of this bill those who knew said: "On the whole our immigrants have been honest and industrious, law-abiding, God-fearing, polite and brave, hospitable and generous. They have all paid their way many times over, and New Sweden has ever continued to meet the fondest anticipations of the friends of immigration. Forests have been felled and the land transformed into smooth fields of waving grain. There are more forests to be cleared and rich soil to be reclaimed so Maine will welcome her 'fair share' of the brave souls who have been made homeless by the war."

It is now more than two years since the close of the war, but over a million refugees remain in displaced persons camps in Germany, Austria,

and Italy. It seems our duty to save them from the totalitarian regime from which they fled. Upon the countries with excess resources, territory, and opportunity, devolves the responsibility to open their doors to these homeless people. Delayed legislation only makes the problem greater.

Most of the reports from those who visited concentration camps in Europe last year say the plight of the displaced person is a challenge to all freedom-loving people, and they note the moral and world political implications of this grave problem. The endorsement by leaders of both major political parties assures us that this is not a partisan issue but is a humanitarian measure entirely.

Governor Robert F. Bradford, of Massachusetts, speaking before a New England Conference on Displaced Persons which was held in Boston, said: "It is particularly appropriate that such a conference be held here as the original settlers of our commonwealth were themselves displaced persons fleeing from religious and political oppression.

"I feel confident that all thinking Americans are aware of the great responsibility we hold in lending a helping hand to these people who have refused to compromise with tyranny, be it Nazi or Communist. If we are to maintain our own liberties, we must do our utmost to help others to win and retain theirs. Signs point to our awareness, and awareness points to action."

Never could we use the Golden Rule to a better advantage than now and the Elbert Hubbard version puts it so pointedly, "Do unto others as though you were the others." If we work for the needed legislation now as we would have others work for it were we the ones in concentration camps, its passage would be assured. This is one of the priority movements toward a better world. Displaced persons are the stateless survivors of concentration camps, refugees from bitter political pursuits struggling to exist.

The United States delegation in the United Nations took a firm stand on the drafting of the constitution for the International Refugee Organization. They contended that refugees should not be forced back into their lands of origin if they feared political or religious persecution. The constitution of the International Refugee Organization has been ratified by our Congress and the United States is a member of this new world organization. This is one place where every citizen has an excellent opportunity to implement the work of the United Nations and to reaffirm the inscription at the base of the statue of the Goddess of Liberty, which overlooks New York Harbor with torch held high as a beacon to a bewildered world.

"Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,

I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

After World War III . . .

*By Leslie Tabi **

"A fantasy about the absolutely absolute weapon."

(Three shabbily dressed men are sitting in what used to be the main street of a ruined city.)

First Man: The trouble was that the front ran too close to our house. Toward the end, Brazilians were fighting in the bathroom while some Swedes were breaking into the parlor.

Second Man (angrily): I'm fed up with your stories. All you can talk about is the war!

Third Man: He talks as if he were the sole survivor of World War III. (*Somewhat irritated.*) Look, sir, we all know they were difficult times but you weren't the only one who suffered!

Second Man (to First): You never stopped talking even after the Second World War.

Third Man: Let's thank the Lord that at least we three survived this holocaust. Imagine, just three human survivors—out of more than two billion people! We really can't complain. (*He knocks wood.*)

Second Man: I think we ought to discuss how we could best secure world peace in the future. The world cannot be inflamed again!

Third Man: Right you are!

First Man: Incidentally, speaking of flames. (*Pulls a box of matches from his pocket.*) This is all we have left—eight matchsticks.

Second Man (anxiously): Did you make a thorough search?

First Man: Yes, through every major industrial area of the world. We have a cigarette supply to last for 20 million years. Scores of cigarette plants are left intact. But there is not a single match factory left. They were all blown up.

Third Man: Is Madrid still burning?

Second Man: And Ankara?

First Man: Yes, both are still burning.

Second Man: Good, we can use them instead of matches.

Third Man: They won't burn forever! New York burned for only two years. We have to discuss this match problem. It's a long-range question.

Second Man: I can imagine more important things to discuss. How about the question of territorial claims?

First Man: That's right. We'll have to make some arrangements. (*To Third Man.*) We appoint you chairman of the conference.

Third Man: I accept the difficult

* Young Hungarian playwright. From *United Nations World*, The International Magazine, November, 1947. Used with permission.

office and will do everything in my power to justify your confidence. The floor is now open for debate.

First Man (*standing up*): Gentlemen! World War III devastated the whole world, but we three survived to emerge victoriously from it, vanquishing all the forces of reaction!

Second and Third Man: Long live the victorious Allies!

First Man (*continuing*): We who were destined to survive this immeasurable cataclysm have a grave responsibility. We must secure peace and tranquillity for mankind! (*Sits down while Second and Third Man applaud vigorously.*)

Third Man: Please come forward with your territorial claims. (*To First Man.*) Which continents do you intend to annex?

First Man: The Southern Hemisphere—Africa, Australia, and South America.

Third Man (*to Second Man*): And you?

Second Man: Europe and Asia.

Third Man (*irritated*): That would leave only North America for me.

First Man: Don't be funny. North America was the world's richest continent, what with the United States on it. There were 174 million people living in North America and now you seem to think that it isn't big enough for you alone.

Second Man: All right, you may have Greenland too.

Third Man: You can keep such bargains!

Second Man: Please, gentlemen, let's not deepen the crisis. (*To Third Man.*) America is great and full of promises. It has two oceans to protect it. I simply must have Europe since that is the strategic approach to Asia. I must safeguard my boundaries.

Third Man (*to First Man*): Why don't you give me South America?

First Man: I'm not crazy. Please don't forget the contributions and sacrifices I made to our common victory.

Second Man: Gentlemen! We must not permit this conflict to threaten another war.

Third Man: You can't bully me! Do you think I'm afraid of you because you have the only revolver left in the world?

First Man: Gentlemen, gentlemen, please. . . . Here we are, only three of us left. One would think the earth is big enough for three men.

Second Man: If it's big enough for you, why don't you give up Australia?

First Man: Well . . . It isn't that big.

Third Man: You see. And yet you expect me to accept just one continent.

Second Man: I want to offer a motion. Since we can evidently reach no agreement on the question of our territorial claims, I move to post-

pone the decision pending further investigation and study.

First Man: Second the motion.

Third Man: All agreed raise their hands. Motion accepted. I now move to return the question of distribution of matches to the agenda.

Second Man: The match should be the common property of mankind. I suggest that we distribute the matchsticks equally among all three.

First Man: I think that is a preposterous idea. First of all, why should the matches be common property of mankind when I found them? Second, you cannot divide eight by three.

Second Man: What do you propose?

First Man: I propose to give you each two matchsticks while retaining four together with the box.

Third Man: You can't get away with such a proposal. I'll veto it!

Second Man: Please, control yourself.

First Man: It's a shame, spending our precious time on fruitless debate instead of starting on the reconstruction of the world.

Third Man: How do you like that? He has the matches and condemns the debate. Give us the matches and we'll start reconstructing, don't worry. (*There is a pause.*)

First Man: Pardon me, gentlemen. . . I move a short recess. (*He goes out.* *Second Man watches him leave.*

then starts whispering excitedly into Third Man's ear.)

Third Man: It's an idea. (*He seizes a club.*) Let's go!

Second Man: Don't you think we ought to send him a firmly worded note first?

Third Man: We can send it afterward. We cannot sacrifice the element of surprise. (*Exit both. In a moment there are sounds of blows, angry cries, then the death rattle of the First Man. Second and Third Man return.*)

Third Man: I think we deserve mankind's gratitude for routing the common enemy. O. K., now give me four matchsticks.

Second Man: Four? Why four?

Third Man: Half of the booty.

Second Man: You have no sense of justice. Whose idea was the whole expedition?

Third Man: Yes, but I delivered the first blow.

Second Man: That's immaterial. You may have three matchsticks if you like.

(Third Man lifts the club in fury. Second Man draws the revolver and fires at him. Third Man collapses. Second Man sits down quietly and lights a cigarette with one of the matches.)

Third Man (dying): For heaven's sake . . . What have you done!

Second Man: I have finally secured eternal peace for mankind.

On the Maintenance of the Pastorate

*By William McInnes **

THE divisions within Protestantism in the United States, in spite of our great resources, make the adequate support of the ministry a peculiarly difficult problem. You may find great loyalty to the local group and too little concern for the Church as a whole.

The Presbyterian Church has always felt the importance of the adequate support of the pastorate. As far back as 1776 the Church sought to free its ministers from financial anxiety.

That the pastorate is not adequately supported is not true today. The Synods of New York and Illinois have set up central funds to aid necessary Churches in the support of their pastors where the local resources are inadequate. Committees in local areas, presbytery- and synod-wide, have been set up to consider the problem. The National Committee on the Maintenance of the Pastorate of which Dr. Harold L. Bowman, pastor of the First Church of Chicago, was chairman, made a study of the situation and presented a comprehensive report that was approved by the General Assembly in 1946. Our present Moderator, Dr. Wilbur La Roe, Jr., has been greatly concerned with

the problem and deeply interested in a solution. It is evident on every hand that our Presbyterian Church is becoming more and more sensitive to the need of correcting the situation. The plan set up in Illinois on a voluntary basis has had surprisingly generous support. One of its great advantages is that the Maintenance of the Pastorate is kept constantly before the Church. The minimum salary has been raised more than thirty per cent since 1940. This is due, in part, to increased giving in these "lush" years.

When we think of the Maintenance of the Pastorate we are thinking of the ministry as a whole. The minister in a more favorable situation is, or ought to be, concerned about his brother minister in needy though significant and even strategic places. The Maintenance of the Pastorate gives ministers and congregations more favorably situated a practical outlet for this concern.

Candidates for the Gospel ministry are taken under the care of a presbytery. They testify to their personal faith in Jesus Christ as their Saviour and Lord and that they have a zeal to win others to the same faith. These are the fundamental qualifications. Yet, while these qualifications are fundamental, the Church demands a long and difficult training. This

* Chairman of the Maintenance of the Pastorate Committee, Synod of Illinois; also member of the National Committee on the Maintenance of the Pastorate.

means that few ministers are ordained before they are twenty-five years of age.

These young men who enter the Presbyterian ministry probably never think of financial considerations. They find, nevertheless, that they have financial obligations. They set up homes, and in many cases the first few years are so difficult that many of them become discouraged. They begin to feel that the Church does not care. That the Church does care is evident from its history in this matter, but the great difficulty has been to find the means to make effective what it feels ought to be done.

We are now in a position to do something about this on the basis of the report of the Maintenance of the Pastorate referred to above that will cover the whole Church. This report was transmitted by the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly to the Stated Clerks of all the synods and presbyteries. Among the recommendations we find the following:

- (a) That "synods be urged to set up within their bounds during the next two years [as of 1946] a Maintenance of the Pastorate Plan by means of which funds may be raised from the financially stronger Churches to help those Churches that are unable to pay the determined minimum."
- (b) That all synods become part of a National Plan "whereby the

stronger synods can aid the weaker. . . . The effective functioning of any plan in the smaller synods will require the wholehearted co-operation of the stronger areas of the Church."

While the emphasis at present is on an adequate minimum, the support of the pastor involves much more than the minimum salary and affects every minister in the Church. In the course of time congregations will become more aware of a phrase in the installation service that is too often forgotten: "Do you engage to continue to him, while he is your Pastor, that competent worldly maintenance which you have promised, and whatever else you may see needful for the honor of religion, and his comfort among you?"

Our Moderator, Dr. Wilbur La Rœ, Jr., in *Monday Morning* of December 1, quotes from a letter he received from a minister: "I am in an emotional turmoil. I earn \$2,500 with manse, and we tithe. There are seven of us. Our meals cost fifteen cents per person. The other day I had to go to a Church dinner which cost \$1.50, and I took it out of the tithe box, but my conscience hurts. I hope you will understand why I can't come to your dinner—I just can't afford it." We are told that when the Moderator received this letter it gave him a lump in his throat. This situation will be corrected when more of us have a lump in the throat.

For Time

Victims of Prejudice The darkest features of sin are revealed when it hurts a child. Jesus turned his harshest judgment against those who offended children when he warned, "Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him if a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea."

Such an offense was suffered by a boy on his visit to Santa Claus in one of our Eastern cities. Many children were waiting their turn with Santa Claus in the great store. Before the child of the story could get to Santa's embrace, Santa Claus saw him, rose, and taking the child quietly by the hand, led him away from the crowd of children and started him home. The many questions of childhood were stifled in the boy's weeping. Santa hoped he had taken this child aside in time to escape the rebuke of his employers and the indignation of white parents, for he was a Negro boy. The incident—the very stuff of which broken hearts are made—was witnessed by members of the Westminster Fellowship of the Presbytery of Baltimore and protested by them in the following night letter to the store: "On Thursday night the past moderator of the National Westminster Fellowship of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., saw a colored child forbidden to speak to Santa Claus. He was told that it was the policy of your store. We believe that such discrimination creates prejudice which our young people are trying to overcome." There are a great number of generous-hearted people who are indignant at such treatment of a child who support the discriminatory practices and cherish prejudices that always issue in heart-break and bitterness. Is there any area where, without realizing it, more good people are responsible for more widespread human suffering than in the relation of races? We are generally sensitive to "sins against property" and to some sins against our neighbors. If a Churchman absconds with another's funds or runs away with his neighbor's wife, the Church requires that he be disciplined. However, we are not so clear in our procedure in case a man takes his neighbor, his wife, and his children and drives them from his home or prevents them from occupying their home because he is a member of a minority group. How Christian is the conscience that is not responsive to Christ's commandments: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. The second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"? What profiteth orthodoxy concerning that which happened during the life of our Lord when

like These

those who call him Lord do not the things which he commands them to do?

This incident is not proclaimed to mobilize "stonecasters." There are very few if any of us who are without sin in this matter of race prejudice, but it is time that we called one another to repentance and to "works worthy of repentance." The Christian responsibility in race relations is convincingly set forth in a new study on racial and cultural relations soon available to the Church. The study has been prepared by the Advisory Committee on Racial and Cultural Relations, Dr. T. Guthrie Speers, Chairman.

**"Deep in the Heart of"—
Maine** "It shall be and is hereby declared to be the policy of the State of Maine to encourage settlement within its borders of displaced persons." Maine has led the nation, and in this matter "as Maine goes," may the nation go also.

The good news in Mrs. Richardson's article, in this issue, of the action in Maine is enough to explain the lifted heads in that state, and it will lift the hearts of many of Europe's dispossessed. We may anticipate the early opening of the doors of America for our share of displaced persons if every Christian citizen does his duty. It is also important that we understand that Maine is not receiving the "rejectees" of Europe. Congressman Jacob K. Javits, of New York, reported on his return from Europe that a study made of a number of displaced persons camps in Europe revealed that a very high percentage of the population were skilled artisans and professionally trained men and women. Tragically, the aged and infirm had not survived the persecution to which they had been subjected, so that those now applying for entrance to these shores are people who have come through their great ordeal. However, even in Maine action will be delayed until the Federal Government lifts the "lamp beside the golden door."

**International
Complications** Last November a distinguished dark-skinned visitor from Haiti attended the inauguration of the new president of Fisk University in Nashville. After the ceremony, he was asked to move from his seat in the almost empty airport waiting room. He moved, but the request was soon repeated. When he still failed to understand the real nature of the order, he was threatened with arrest. Within an hour, the account of the "insult" was broadcast over the airways of the Indies and South America. No comment is necessary!

Why I Remain a Negro

(Continued from page 2)

person as a Negro, by supposing a Negro were suddenly to say to me, "I am white." But the reversal does not work, for whites can see no reason for a white man ever wanting to be black; there is only one reason for a black man wanting to be white. That is the way whites think; that is the way their values are set up. It is the startling removal of the blackness that upsets people. Looking at me without knowing who I am, they disassociate me from all the characteristics of the Negro. Informed that I am a Negro, they find it impossible suddenly to endow me with the skin, the odor, the dialect, the shuffle, the imbecile good nature. Instantly they are aware that these things are not part of me. Then they grope for the positive values of the race—genius at song, easy laughter, great strength, humility, manners. Alexander Percy said that the most polite people in the world are the American Negroes.

This shift to the virtues of the Negro is apt to be dangerous for me. Once a Southern lady, discovering my identity, entered into a long conversation with me, and suggested that I come to her home where we might enjoy a more intimate chat on race matters without being disturbed. She suggested a time. I said I would surely come, and that I would bring my wife, who would be equally interested in the discussion. The lady's attitude changed immediately. She did not break the date then, but later she telephoned and said that she would be unable to see us. What precisely she perceived in me of interest I do not know, but probably it was the sudden transformation of the faithful "darky" into a man covered with magic white skin that titillated her.

I have seen Negroes, male and female, killed by mobs in the streets of Atlanta. I stood with my father, who was a mail carrier, and watched them die. The next night they came to the Negro section, perhaps five thousand of them. Our house was

just outside the section, above it, on Houston Street. It was a neat, modest home, in which my father and mother raised a family of seven children. The whites resented our prosperity; so, at times, did the Negroes. The Negroes resented our white skin, and the ethical standards that my parents maintained themselves and required of their children.

In the darkened house that night were my mother and father, four of my sisters, and myself. Never before had there been guns in our house, but that night, at the insistence of friends, we were armed. My father was a deeply religious man, opposed to physical violence. As we watched the mob go by, their faces weird in the light of the torches they carried—faces made grotesque and ugly by the hate that was twisting and distorting them—my father said, "Don't shoot until the first man puts his foot on the lawn; and then don't miss."

I heard a voice cry out, a voice that I knew belonged to the son of our neighborhood grocer: "Let's burn the house of the nigger mail carrier! It's too nice a house for a nigger to live in!"

In the flickering light the mob swayed, paused, and began to flow toward us. In that instant there opened up within me a great awareness; I knew then who I was. I was colored, a human being with an invisible pigmentation that marked me a person to be hunted, hanged, abused, discriminated against, kept in poverty and ignorance, in order that those whose skins were white would have readily at hand a proof of their superiority, a proof patent and inclusive, accessible to the moron and idiot as well as to the wise man and the genius. No matter how low a white man fell, he could always be certain that he was superior to two thirds of the world's population, for those two thirds were not white.

It made no difference how intelligent or talented I and my millions of brothers were, or how virtuously we lived. A curse like that of Judas was upon us, a mark of degradation fashioned with heavenly author-

ity. There were white men who said Negroes had no souls, and who proved it by the Bible. Some of these now were approaching us, intent upon burning our house. My father had told us to kill them.

It was a violence that could not be avoided. The white men insisted upon it. War was with them a business—war and pillage, conquest and exploitation, colonization and Christianization. Later, when I was older, I thought about this and I began to see why. Theirs was a world of contrasts in values: superior and inferior, profit and loss, co-operative and non-co-operative, civilized and aboriginal, white and black. If you were on the wrong end of the comparison, if you were inferior, if you were non-co-operative, if you were aboriginal, if you were black, then you were marked for excision, expulsion, or extinction. I was a Negro; I was therefore that part of history which opposed the good, the just, and the enlightened.

Yet as a boy there in the darkness amid the tightening fright, I knew the inexplicable thing—that my skin was as white as the skin of those who were coming at me.

The mob moved toward the lawn. I tried to aim my gun, wondering what it would feel like to kill a man. Suddenly there was a volley of shots. The mob hesitated, stopped. Some friends of my father had barricaded themselves in a two-story brick building just below our house. It was they who had fired. Some of the mobsmen, still bloodthirsty, shouted, "Let's go get the nigger." Others, afraid now for their safety, held back. Our friends, noting the hesitation, fired another volley. The mob broke and retreated up Houston Street.

In the quiet that followed I put my gun aside and tried to relax. But a tension different from anything I had ever known possessed me. I was gripped by the knowledge of my identity, and in the depths of my soul I was vaguely aware that I was glad of it. I was sick with loathing for the hatred that had flared before me that night

and come so close to making me a killer; but I was glad I was not one of those who hated; I was glad I was not one of those made sick and murderous by pride. I was glad I was not one of those whose story is in the history of the world, a record of bloodshed, rapine, and pillage. I was glad my mind and spirit were part of the races that had not fully awakened, and who therefore had still before them the opportunity to write a record of virtue as a memorandum to Armageddon.

It was all just a feeling then, inarticulate and melancholy, yet reassuring in the way that death and sleep are reassuring. Years later, when my father lay in a dingy, cockroach-infested Jim Crow ward in an Atlanta hospital, he put it into words for me and my brother.

"Human kindness, decency, love, whatever you wish to call it," he said, "is the only real thing in the world. It is a dynamic, not a passive, emotion. It's up to you two, and others like you, to use your education and talents in an effort to make love as positive an emotion in the world as are prejudice and hate. That's the only way the world can save itself. Don't forget that. No matter what happens, you must love, not hate." Then he died. He had been struck by an automobile driven by a reckless driver—one of the hospital doctors.

I have remembered that. I have remembered that when, sitting in the gallery of the House or the Senate, I have heard members of our Congress rise and spill diatribe and vilification on the Negroes. I have remembered it when the Negroes were condemned as utter failures in soldiering. I remembered it when, in the Pacific, where I went as a war correspondent, a white officer from the South told me that the 93d Division, a Negro unit, had been given an easy beachhead to take at Bougainville, and had broken and run under fire. I collected the facts and presented them to him. Bougainville was invaded in November, 1943. The 93d was ordered there in April, 1944. The first night it bivouacked on the

beach, and motion pictures were shown.

I remembered it when I talked with my nephew for the last time, as he lay in a bitterly cold, rain-drenched tent on the edge of the Capodichina airfield near Naples. He hated war; he loathed killing. But he believed that Hitler and Mussolini represented the kind of hate he had seen exhibited in Georgia by the Ku Klux Klan and the degenerate political demagogues. He believed that the war would bring all of that hate to an end. He was a fighter pilot. He fought well. Over the Anzio beachhead he was shot down, bailing out and escaping with his right leg broken in two places. He was offered an opportunity to return home but he refused it. "I'll stick it out until the war is finished or I am," he told a friend. Later, returning from a bomber escort mission to Germany, his plane lost altitude over Hungary, was fired upon by antiaircraft batteries, and was seen striking a tree and bursting into flames. That was the end of one of the men Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, described as "utter and dismal failures in combat in Europe."

It would be easy to grow bitter over such things, but in remembering my nephew and our last conversation, in which he asked me whether the war would really bring an end to prejudice and race hatred, I remember also the Negro corporal of an engineers unit, who said to me: "This is the only work they would give me, but I don't mind. We learn a trade; we do constructive work. The combat soldiers are taught how to kill. It will bother them. It will stick with them. It will have no effect on us. We will not have to unlearn it."

I could be sophisticated about the advantages of being a Negro. I am amused, for instance, at the fact that because it is considered remarkable that a Negro can write a book at all, a passing-fair volume by one of my brothers is frequently hailed as a masterpiece. Everyone with the slightest sense is aware that genius has no color line. Everyone knows also that people generally choose friends and companions

for their taste, manners, intelligence, and personality. Yet it does not occur to him that Negroes do likewise. Therefore he often mourns that we colored people cannot freely associate with whites, when it should be obvious that if we did have this privilege we would like no more of them for friends than he does. It is beyond the imagination of a white man to think that to a Negro he is dull.

Negro athletes and singers do not benefit from their color as do Negro scientists and intellectuals, for whereas the latter are considered wonderful if they attain mediocrity, the former are expected to surpass anything the whites can do. In the main, however, I have found it advantageous to be a Negro. My sense of humor is never without material, and I am easily able to judge the worth of white people by their reaction when they discover that I am not white. I am also able to add to my knowledge by pondering the fact that the people who turn away from me when they are told my identity are the most superior of all the peoples, for they look down upon those who are not afraid to be seen with me, and call them "nigger lovers."

Sometimes it is more enlightening not to insist that I am a Negro. Once on a subway going to Harlem I fell into conversation with a man who spoke with a marked German accent. "This used to be a pleasant line to ride on," he said. "But now there are too many Negroes. They have a distinctive smell." He wrinkled his nose.

"Suppose you and I had to do the same kind of work they do on the docks or over hot kitchen stoves," I said. "That is the kind of work Negroes are forced to do because they are Negroes. Would we be odorless—particularly if we lived in antiquated, crowded, segregated tenements, which we were forced to inhabit also because we were Negroes?"

He looked at me with amazement. "I've lived in this country for thirty years," he said. "You're the first white man I've ever heard talk like that."

Looking at him, I recalled an incident in Brooklyn during the early part of the war. A plant was manufacturing the famous and secret Norden bombsight. The plant refused to hire Negroes, but did hire persons of German descent. Most of them were loyal Americans, but a few were arrested by the F. B. I. for stealing the secret of the bombsight, and were convicted. But it was too late. Germany got the information and passed it on to Japan. One of the officials of the company told a friend, "I'd close the plant rather than hire niggers."

Negro soldiers made a good record in this recent war. They have in previous ones. Yet I recall with uneasiness the grimness on a Negro soldier's face when he told me, one day in the Pacific, "Our fight for freedom will start the day we arrive in San Francisco."

It has indeed, and there are times when I have felt with a sweep of fear that the patience of the colored man is close to its end. I remember the clamoring stillness and the blood heat of a day in Georgia. A lynching was prevented when a band of colored women walked with cans of kerosene toward the village store, a terrible calm upon their faces, an awful quiet in their silent stride. I remember how I felt when I stood beside my father and knew that the whites would not let me live, that I must kill them first and then be killed.

Yet I know, I know, I know that there is no reason for this killing, this hatred, this demarcation. There is no difference between them. Black is white and white is black. When one shoots the other, he kills

his reflection. Only hate, the negative force, can separate them; only love, the positive force, can bind them together.

I am one of the two in the color of my skin; I am the other in my spirit and my heart. It is only a love of both that binds the two together in me, and it is only love for each other that will join them in the common aims of civilization that lie before us. I love one for the sins she has committed and the fight she has made to conquer them—and conquer them, in great degree, she has. I love the other for her patience and her sorrows, for the soft sound of her singing, and for the great dawn that is coming upon her, in which her vigor and her faith will serve the world.

Some of the members of the black race are passing over to the white race. It may be that I am one of these; that I am a member of a vanguard that in the millennium to come will transmute the great potentialities of the colored races into the civilizations that are to follow. I pray that those civilizations will be better and more virtuous than ours, and that the bridge that I and others are building will grow strong and be a highway for good.

I have a feeling that life is a rushing force, certain of its course and destination. Our bodies are its medium, and it shapes them to its use. As the social pattern of the Negro evolves, will his color change? Is it changing now? We do not know, and I, for one, am sure that it does not matter. I am white and I am black, and know that there is no difference. Each one casts a shadow, and all shadows are dark.

A New Jersey state constitution including a bill of rights outlawing racial discrimination (Interracial News Service, early fall, 1947) was overwhelmingly adopted by the state electorate in the November 4 elections at Trenton. With a three-to-one proportion in favor of the new state charter, the clause in the bill of rights specifically concerned with bias read:

No person shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil or military right nor be discriminated against in any civil right or segregated in the militia, or public schools on account of religious principles, race, color, ancestry, or national origin."

—Interracial News Service, November, 1947.

Sanctuary

God Our Father, Man Our Brother *

Call to Worship:

"Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth; for the Lord hath spoken: . . .

 What unto me is the multitude of your sacrifices? . . .

When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to trample my courts? . . .

 Cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. . . .

He hath showed thee, O man, what is good;

 And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with my God?"

Momentary Silence and Invocation:

"If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."—Matt. 5: 23, 24.

Our Father, God, lift us into thy presence from the depths to which we have fallen in our indifference and hostilities toward each other and in our sinning against thee. We have hated where thou hast commanded us to love; we have separated ourselves from our fellow men where thou hast prepared for us a bond of unity in the Body of Christ. By overt act and inward spirit we have rejected many of thy children, and in arrogance arrayed ourselves against thee.

Look with compassion upon us and blot out the iniquity of our evil-doing. Renew a right spirit within us and teach us anew thy ways of peace and love and holy communion with one another and with thee. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Hymn:

"Turn Back, O Man, Forswear Thy Foolish Ways."

Litany of Forgiveness and Reconciliation:

"Search me, O God, and know my heart: Try me, and know my thought; And see if there be any wicked way in me, And lead me in the way everlasting."—Ps. 139: 23, 24.

From our secret enmities, our subtle antagonisms, our stubborn meanness of heart—good Lord, deliver us.

"If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."—1 John 4: 20.

From the hypocrisy of our pious words, from the showy pretense of charitable deeds, from bargains in injustice against our brothers while calling Thee, our Father—good Lord, deliver us.

* Arranged by Frank T. Wilson, Dean of Students, Lincoln University, Lincoln, Pennsylvania.

"The Lord our God, the Lord is one: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."—Mark 12: 29-31.

From our halfhearted devotion to the tasks which thou hast assigned us; from the habit of calling thee Lord, Lord, while defying thee in our relationships with men of other races and languages; from selfishly seeking for ourselves the advantages and privileges that we refuse to make possible to others—good Lord, deliver us.

"Let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love."—1 John 4: 7, 8.

That we may turn from the ways of the world and spurn all inducements to wicked compromises against and betrayals of our fellow men—grant, O merciful Father.

"There is no fear in love: but perfect love casteth out fear."— 1 John 4: 18.

The light we need to guide us in our darkness, the truth we need to banish wrong judgment and false report, the strength we need to stand firm in that love which binds us to our brother—grant, O merciful Father.

Hymn:

"Rise Up, O Men of God!"

Meditation on Brotherhood (*Let us be quiet together*):

In *A Survey of Racial Tension Areas in the United States* the following is the concluding statement of the introduction:

"The American people may have to decide whether to incorporate this persistently rejected group into their system of moral obligations and Christian fellowship, or revise the system itself downward to a more comfortable tolerance of permanent injustice." (*To Stem This Tide*, by Charles S. Johnson. The Pilgrim PRESS, 1943.) This is a far more crucial alternative in 1948 than it was in 1943. The conditions to which it calls our attention exist within the Church as well as in our society generally. Although the statement refers to Negro Americans its implications are equally applicable to other minorities in the United States. Is the Church and are individual Christians disposed to serve as "agents of redemption" in this difficult area of human relations?

Prayer

Hymn:

"O Brother Man, Fold to Thy Heart Thy Brother."

Benediction:

"O God, who hast given the earth for the habitation of men, send into our hearts, we pray thee, the spirit of unity, peace, and concord, so that, in spite of all difficulties, we and all men may learn the art of living together in harmony as thy children. Through Christ our Lord." And may the grace of the Lord, Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be and abide with you now and evermore. Amen.

Workshop

Brotherhood Month. Churches throughout the country will designate February as Brotherhood Month with appropriate programs and projects sponsored by news groups, women's organizations, and youth societies.

Program chairmen of these groups, as well as local committees of Social Education and Action will want to have suitable program and activity suggestions at hand.

The Division of Social Education and Action continues to make available a packet of helpful literature: *Christianity and Minority Groups*.* The packet contains a dozen or more choice pamphlets dealing with racial and cultural relations. Two of the pamphlets are publications of the Public Affairs Committee: *The Negro in America*, by Maxwell S. Stewart, and *What About Our Japanese Americans*, by Carey McWilliams. There is also a Council of Social Action publication: *The Truth About Anti-Semitism*, by Isaque Graeber and Samuel Koenig, and a related pamphlet, *Jews in American Life*, by Jacob Marcus. Included too is a helpful tract by Fern M. Colborn of the Division staff, *Nosing Out Prejudice*. The *Packet Manual* is a thirteen-page mimeographed bulletin outlining ways in which the packet may be used, under five headings: "Christianity"; "Science and People"; "Japanese-Americans and Democracy"; "Negro-White Relations"; and "Christian-Jewish Relations."

The *Check List* of literature distributed by the Division suggests additional "tools" for an effective observance of Brotherhood Month in the local Church.

Race Relations Sunday. For the twenty-sixth annual observance of Race Relations Sunday, February 8, 1948, the

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has published a packet of program and worship material: *Practice Brotherhood Now*.** The packet contains the annual message to the Churches from the Federal Council; a general worship service; programs for children's, youth, and women's groups; and latest information about the American Indian, American Negro, Japanese-American, and Spanish-speaking people in the United States.

Patterns of Brotherhood. From Illinois where he is chairman of Synod's Social Education and Action Committee, Rev. Herbert J. Doran writes about the Interchurchmen's Council in the two cities of Champaign and Urbana. The council, now in its sixth year, is made up of the pastor and three boy representatives from each Church in the community—Catholic and Jewish as well as Protestant. There are monthly dinner and program meetings with several projects every year, such as a leadership training school, and interfaith mass meetings are held with outstanding speakers.

The Westminster Church of Cedar Manor, in the Presbytery of Brooklyn-Nassau, organized in the fall of 1946, is the result of the merger of the Cedar Manor Presbyterian Church (white) and the Westminster Presbyterian Church (Negro). Rev. Robert S. Bilheimer, formerly pastor of the Westminster Church, leads the new project. He and his people have consolidated their gains, and the Church is growing rapidly. At an overnight retreat in the summer a comprehensive program was worked out. Social education and action has been assigned as a major responsibility to the Board of Deacons.

* Order from the Division of Social Education and Action, 330 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa. 50 cents.

** Order from the Department of Race Relations, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y. 10 cents.

Vignette. This little human interest story comes from the December, 1946, issue of *The News of Metropolitan Presbyterian Church*, Washington, D. C. It is based on an actual experience of Christmas Eve, 1945.

The New York train was jam-packed. A young mother entered the car with her child in one arm, carrying a heavy suitcase in the other hand. She took the only space she could find—standing room near the front of the coach. Not one passenger that was seated was gallant enough to offer her a seat. Mile after mile the train rushed through the night, and the little mother had a difficult time keeping her balance in the swaying coach with her baby in her arms. In time she was visibly sagging with the strain and fatigue, but still no one offered her a seat. She kept shifting her baby from one arm to the other, fighting the weariness as best she could.

At last another young lady, who also could find only standing room, turned to her with a smile, and said: "Let me hold the baby for a while. I know you must be ready to drop!" "You are very kind," said the mother. "I'll admit my back is about broken." The young lady took the child in her arms, and was soon cuddling and playing with the youngster. Gradually, the noisy clamor in the car became more subdued, and people began to nudge each other and whisper. There were many sheepish glances at the attractive young lady holding the baby.

"Nothing very unusual about that," you say? "Just a little act of human kindness—a Christian courtesy—quite a decent girl." No, nothing very unusual, except—the mother and child were colored and the attractive young lady *was*—white!

"Mass Truancy" in Gary. On September 2, 1947, 20,000 children in Gary, Indiana, began their annual pilgrimage back to the public schools. About 200 high-school students at Emerson School failed to register. These students, along with some of their parents, began to hold meetings in

an attempt to persuade the entire student body to stay away from school.

They were protesting a ruling of the school board permitting all children in grades kindergarten through six to enroll in schools in their own home districts. This ruling had the effect of transferring thirty-eight colored children, of primary and junior age, to Emerson School. Five other schools, formerly all white, were also affected by the new policy. A total of 117 Negro children were involved.

By the third day 80 per cent of the 1,750 Emerson students were out of school. They and their parents were demanding that the school board remove the colored children from the school. They were insisting that a policy of segregation be enforced and that a separate school be erected for the Negro boys and girls.

School authorities announced their intention "to deal with the problem with a firm hand." They refused to label the disturbance a strike, terming it rather "mass truancy." The known and suspected troublemakers were called into conference with police and court officials who explained the "antihate" and antitruancy laws of the state and city.

About twenty influential business, labor, religious, and civic groups made public statements in support of the board and its policy. This proved very helpful.

The second week of the disturbance was critical. There was a brief sympathy walkout by about a hundred students of the Tolleson School. On Wednesday the members of the Emerson football squad voted to return. By Thursday more than one half of the student body were back in school. In a few days the situation was back to normal, and all students were hard at work to "catch up."

The thirty-eight Negro children in the Emerson elementary grades continued to go to school throughout the disturbance. Neither they nor their parents were molested in the slightest, according to police and school reports.

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

The 80th Congress is probably in its last session. It is expected that major attention will be given to three matters:

1. The European Recovery Plan.

Hearings will begin early in January and a bill introduced following lengthy and detailed discussion. Persons wishing to state their views on this subject should write Senator Arthur H. Vandenburg, Chairman Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Washington, D. C. (See "World Order" page, this issue.)

2. Taxes. No specific bills under consideration as we go to press.

3. Inflation, including rent control.

It is expected that further bills will be introduced.

Universal military training may be decided in the House by the time this issue reaches the reader. The American Legion conducted an intensive campaign for enactment of U.M.T. from November 11 to January 12. This campaign was carried by major newspaper chains throughout the country, and facts have been difficult for the public to ascertain. The bill H.R. 4278 has been discussed in previous issues (September and November, 1947). Regardless of action in the House, hearings are expected by the Senate Armed Services Committee. Write your own Senators. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., reaffirmed its historic position of opposition to peacetime military conscription in May, 1947, by a very large voice vote. Following the voting down of a substitute motion favoring conscription which was submitted by a minority group of the Standing Committee, a motion was made to table the original recommendation of the Standing Committee, namely, to oppose peacetime military conscription. This motion to table this original section was defeated by an overwhelming majority. Only a few voices voted in favor of tabling.

Brotherhood through legislation. The principles embodied in the following legislation have all been endorsed for

Christian consideration and action by the General Assembly.

1. Displaced persons. H.R. 2910 is still the bill. Action has been withheld until a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee investigates and reports. This report is now scheduled for February 16, and a new bill is expected shortly afterward. It may meet in a constructive way some of the objections to the present bill. In view of controversy over this legislation the following facts are pertinent. Theoretically under present immigration laws 153,927 persons could have been admitted to the United States in the fiscal year ending June, 1947. Only 70,000 came. This is because of the barrier set up in the law requiring that quotas be set for particular countries: 65,700 for Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and 25,900 for Germany. The picture is more pointed when quotas for other countries are noted: Poland, 6,524; Lithuania, 386; Latvia, 236; and Estonia, 116, whose nationals largely comprise the displaced persons. Our General Assembly action recommends that 100,000 displaced persons be admitted each year for the next four years in addition to the regular quotas. Write your own Congressmen and Senators on this subject.

2. Fair Employment Practices, S. 984. Would establish a national committee to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry. This is expected to reach the Senate floor late in January. Write your Senators.

3. Antilynching Bill. H.R. 3488 and S. 1352.

4. Japanese-American claims. H.R. 3999 has passed the House and is in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Write your Senators urging that it be reported out and passed.

A summary of all social legislation bills pending may be secured by writing to the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.)

WORLD ORDER

Give Them This Day . . . *

A single appeal telling a single story of need and asking a single response of human kindness is the focus of the \$60,000,000 world relief campaign of American Overseas Aid—United Nations Appeal for Children.

This combined campaign brings together the foreign relief efforts of twenty-two American voluntary agencies with America's share in the world-wide United Nations Appeal for Children, which asks one day's income from every adult on earth to supplement Governments' contributions to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.**

The objective of the campaign is to enable the private, voluntary agencies to continue to meet human emergencies overseas that are not covered by any Government program, and to enable the people of America to join the people of the world in voluntary contributions to the International Children's Emergency Fund.

When the United Nations formed the International Children's Emergency Fund in December, 1946, it was expected that the member countries would be able to contribute enough to reach at least twenty million infants and adolescents in the war-devastated areas with a six-cent-a-day meal. Support was not sufficient to meet this goal. The Fund is able to provide a meal a day for only about 3,500,000 children in twelve of the hungriest and most devastated countries. It is estimated that more than four hundred million children of Europe and Asia do not receive a diet adequate to growth, and that at least twenty million of these are literally starving.

* By Ralph K. Bishop, Public Relations Director, American Overseas Aid and United Nations Appeal for Children, New York.

** The International Children's Emergency Fund was endorsed by the 159th General Assembly which met in Grand Rapids in May, 1947. The Assembly also encouraged parallel action as may be required "to feed these hungry of the world in the name of Him who gathered children in his arms and blessed them."

To give the people of the world, acting as individuals, a chance to save these millions of young lives, United Nations Appeal for Children came into being—the appeal or voluntary fund-raising agency for the International Children's Emergency Fund.

This appeal has been combined, in the United States, with the unified appeal of the twenty-two agencies of American Overseas Aid. Federation of the appeals was the answer to spontaneous demand by community leaders all over the country, who felt that a single appeal would protect the communities from the bewildering confusion of multiple appeals, would produce more important single contributions from the generous-hearted than would result from numerous small appeals, and would eliminate duplication of programs.

Contributions to the campaign will be allocated to the International Children's Emergency Fund, and the other participating agencies for expenditure on Government-approved projects abroad.

These projects include distribution of milk, food, vitamins, medicines, shoes, clothing, and other urgently needed supplies; operation of clinics, hospitals, maternity and child welfare centers, vocational training, and other urgently needed services. Supplies and services are furnished by the participating agencies on the basis of need, without reference to race, religion, or politics.

Participating agencies include, besides the International Children's Emergency Fund, such distinguished and long-established organizations as the Special Projects Division of Church World Service, the official body of the Federated Council of Churches, Foreign Missions Conference, and seventeen of the major Protestant denominations; American Friends Service Committee; World Emergency and War Victims Fund of Y.W.C.A.; American Aid to France, American Relief for Italy, Greek War Relief Association, United Service to China, etc.

The participating agencies give emergency aid in more than twenty countries where needs are the most urgent with special emphasis on the war-devastated nations of Europe and Asia.

The campaign of American Overseas Aid—United Nations Appeal for Children has the complete backing of the United States Government, which recognizes the practical need for supplementation by the voluntary agencies of the Government-authorized funds for International Children's Emergency Fund. In addition to this practical purpose the Government encourages the spirit of international understanding and sympathy which the personal generosity of Americans will express.

Funds will be solicited by the campaign organization itself, assisted in some communities by Community Chests; by Citizens' Committees; by organized labor; by Churches; and other voluntary organizations. It is hoped that the goal of \$60,000,000 will be raised in February.

Thus, through AOA—UNAC, Americans will be joining a world effort of helpfulness, as well as an effort to help the world. It is an effort to save the world of tomorrow—a whole generation is at stake. It is an effort to save the faith of the children, their belief in humanity, as well as their little suffering bodies. Significantly, the watchword of the campaign is, "Give Them This Day"

Committee for the Marshall Plan

The Committee for the Marshall Plan to Aid European Recovery was formed recently by Henry L. Stimson and 300 leading citizens in fields of business, religion, labor, and education. A four-point program has been announced: (1) effective aid is prompt aid; (2) effective aid is aid to do the whole job; (3) effective aid is based on mutual respect and honor; and (4) effective aid is aid that will bring recovery and self-support and not a hopeless load of debt.

The 1947 General Assembly issued a forthright declaration for the principles which the Marshall Plan needs to implement. "No policy of government is either right or wise," said the Assembly, "that denies help to the homeless and hungry. The natural resources and industrial potential of our nation are trusts from God with which we are to serve the world's need. . . . The reconstruction of the world requires that we work together for security and mutual advantage and not struggle with each other for wealth and power."

It is not easy to give or to receive aid. If the Marshall Plan is to operate successfully, there must be workable agreements between ourselves and the European countries, and among those countries.

The sixteen European nations that met in Paris last summer have already agreed upon production goals, programs for financial stability, and plans for economic co-operation. When the aid program begins in April, we must enter into agreements based on the goals and programs they have voluntarily adopted. If they do their part in meeting their own objectives, then our aid will make recovery certain.

We must realize that these countries will necessarily adopt methods suitable to their own situations on reaching the common goals. We should ask for no assurance from them that we could not accept with honor if we ourselves needed help.

United Nations Assembly *

The 1947 session of the United Nations General Assembly proved its value as an arena for open diplomacy. Principal developments in the eight weeks of the Assembly's deliberation were about as follows:

1. The rivalry between the United States and Russia was evident in nearly every

* A comprehensive review of the actions of the 1947 session of the United Nations General Assembly may be found in *The New York Times*, November 30, 1947, page 62; also in *The Christian Science Monitor*, November 29, 1947, page 9.

issue with which the delegates from the 57 member nations had to deal.

2. The United States was able to win overwhelming approval of the nations of the world for its basic policy exemplified by the Truman doctrine and the Marshall Plan.

3. The smaller countries, notably Australia and the Latin-American states, with Britain and France, showed that they have a decisive role to play in world affairs.

4. The Assembly failed to take any notice of what is probably the most important problem facing the nations now—international control of atomic energy.

5. A resolution condemning warmongering was adopted unanimously.

6. The Assembly failed to deal satisfactorily with a matter on which positive action was taken a year ago—the problem of Franco Spain.

The following is a summary review of some of the principal decisions made by the Assembly.

Interim Committee: The so-called "little assembly" was set up experimentally to deal with matters of peace and security and other issues arising between Assembly sessions. It is authorized to call special sessions on urgent problems. Six Slav nations refused to participate, charging attempt to bypass the Security Council.

Korean Independence: A nine-nation commission was established to conduct elections in Korea by March 31, next, and to help to organize a national government and arrange the withdrawal of Soviet and American troops. The Ukraine declined membership. The Soviet Union raised doubts that the commission will be admitted to the northern occupation zone.

Threats to Greece: A committee of eleven was sent to Greece to watch against transborder aid to guerrillas, to attempt conciliation and negotiation of good-neighborly agreements between Greece and Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. Russia and Poland refused to serve. Greece's neighbors indicated non-co-

operation, despite the dropping of the United States' proposal to find them guilty of past infractions.

Warmongering: A Soviet resolution accusing certain United States, Turkish, and Greek interests of trying to incite war, and calling for repressive measures against alleged propaganda, was rejected. A compromise proposal condemning war propaganda, wherever originating, and urging the spread of peace-promoting information, was substituted.

Similarly, a Yugoslav attack on alleged international slander was rejected in favor of a French proposal for dissemination of information calculated to strengthen mutual understanding and to build friendly relations.

Colonial Information: Resolutions covering the transmission by administering nations of information on non-self-governing areas were divested of amendments declared to invade and transgress the constitutional rights of the administrators. Voluntary submission of political information was encouraged, but the attempt to make it obligatory was rejected.

World Economic Surveys: The Economic and Social Council was called on to make annual surveys of current world economic conditions and trends, together with an analysis of major dislocations of needs and supplies.

Inculcation of UN Principles: Member Governments were urged to encourage the teaching in schools and institutions of higher learning of the UN purposes and principles as well as its general background.

Partition of Palestine: The 1947 session of the General Assembly has come to the very threshold of a major solid achievement. This is the plan to partition Palestine, forming two independent states—one Jewish and the other Arab. The United States and Russia were able to agree in this plan, through which there has been offered substantial hope of an eventual solution of the Holy Land problem.

The Home—Restricted

(Continued from page 5)

segregation, become lush and thrive. The cancer of bitterness is matched by the rancor of race pride. The child of one area grows up knowing that he is "better" than those others across the tracks. The child in the ghetto nurses the gnawing doubt of his own worth, an inner uncertainty which may become a swaggering braggadocio or may turn inward as a sullen and resentful feeling of inferiority.

The violation of the brotherhood by segregation means inevitably that men cease to be brotherly. True religion is gone. For, like Cain of old, he who denies the obligations of brotherhood goes out from the presence of the Lord.

We see the results most clearly in the racial patterns of our Churches. Less than five in a thousand of the Protestants who are Negroes worship on Sunday morning with members of other races under the same roof. Of all the major social institutions of the nation, the Church is the leading candidate for the Jim Crow badge of dishonor. But when, wishing to be the integrated nucleus of an integrated community, a Church begins to build an inclusive pattern of membership and activity, the devices of segregation stand in the way to prevent the accomplishment of the normal act of brotherhood. As long as we permit segregation in housing, the integrated Church will be maintained only in rare instances and with great difficulty.

The result is that the Church, which ought to be the center of a brotherly community is, instead, the smug center of the segregated community. Each little group builds high walls of race pride, shuts out the light of the great God Almighty, lights its sickly candle of prejudice, and worships at the altar over which a mirror is hung.

III

What, then, shall we do? These things:

1. Support the legal battle to outlaw

restrictive covenants. At this moment, there are twenty-seven cases pending before the Supreme Court of the State of California, each testing the validity of the racial restrictive covenant. In November, 1945, a Canadian court ruled that restrictive covenants violate the United Nations Charter and are therefore illegal in a nation that is a member of the United Nations. These legal battles are important. We therefore support these struggles with unceasing determination. They will be destroyed when enough of us see the will of an ethical God and act in accordance with Christian love and conscience.

2. We follow up the removal of restrictions with the creative act of fellowship, building the integrated society to replace segregation. We do this in our homes, where our children are accustomed to see all sorts and kinds of persons as welcome guests. We do this in our schools, where we refuse to let politics use education for ulterior purposes. We do this in our political activity, where we refuse to support or vote for men and measures that feed on prejudice.

And above all, we do this in our Church, where we integrate the races in the human race, both ministry and people, worshiping and working together as children of the one God. This we do in the name and Spirit of Him who knew no boundaries and gave himself for all.

We do it because we want to be at home. In a land that is in captivity to the race demon, we are strangers and wanderers, driven by fears and torn by pride. We seek a city that has foundations, whose builder and maker is God. We know, therefore, that we can be at home only when our neighbors are also at home—at home with us and we with them. That is the meaning of the passage hidden away in the book of Leviticus: "The alien who settles beside you shall be treated like a native, and ye must love him as you love yourself; for you were aliens yourselves in the land of Egypt."

About Books

The Jewish People: Past and Present, compiled by Board of Editors of the Jewish Encyclopedia. Central Yiddish Culture Organization. \$10.00.

This encyclopedic handbook, the first of three annual volumes, consists of essays on various aspects of Jewish history and culture. The succeeding two volumes will present studies of Jewish life in Europe and America, Jewish agrarian settlements, colonization in Palestine and elsewhere, anti-Semitic ideologies and movements, Zionism, as well as Jewish contributions to art, music, drama, and literature. The aim of the series, as defined by the publishers, "is to provide the utmost comprehensive and objective data prepared by outstanding authorities in the respective fields of scientific endeavor."

The present volume includes sixteen monographs by eleven writers, Christian as well as Jewish, who are widely recognized for their scholarly achievements. The topics cover a wide range of Jewish life and interests: anthropology, archaeology, history, mysticism, Messianic movements, religion, social development, and migrations.

Quite properly, the book begins with a discussion of race theory in the light of modern science by Professor M. F. Ashley Montagu, an American anthropologist of note. He shows that the Jewish people do not constitute a racial group in any true sense. He declares that membership in a Jewish culture, and nothing else, makes a person a Jew.

Ministers and Bible teachers will be interested in the group of essays dealing with the history of the Jewish people and the development of Jewish religious thought. These studies comprise a total of more than 300 pages. The section is beautifully and helpfully illustrated with twenty-seven full pages of pictures and maps, some in

color, and more than 100 smaller photographs and line drawings.

One of the important essays in this group is by Professor William F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, authority on Palestinian archaeology and Biblical history. In an essay on the origin and history of the Jewish religion, Dr. Abram Menes, coeditor of the Yiddish Encyclopedia, includes a worth-while discussion of the work of the prophets in ancient Israel and Judah with many references to Biblical literature.

The studies of Jewish social development and population trends, with which the volume concludes, show that approximately 30 per cent of the world's 16,000,000 Jews live in the United States. Here they constitute 3½ per cent of the population. The statistics available for these studies did not cover the war years. It will be interesting to learn what future population studies reveal in the light of what has happened to Jewish life in Europe and Palestine in the last decade.

The volume is in quarto size, well bound, with good paper and pleasing typography. If the other volumes in this series measure up to the first one in interest, scholarship, and range of subject matter, they will constitute a major item in authentic English literature about the Jewish people.

Every leader who deals at all with the problem of anti-Semitism, or who has occasion to speak or write about the phases of our culture to which Jewish people have contributed so greatly, would do well to have this volume near at hand.

CLIFFORD EARLE

A Brother Is a Stranger, by Toru Matsumoto and Marion O. Lerrigo. The John Day Company. \$3.75.

This book tells the life story of a young Japanese educated in Meiji Gakuin, our

Presbyterian college in Tokyo, who has resided in the United States since his graduation and is now a minister of the Reformed Church in America. While in this country he worked as secretary of the Committee on Friendly Relations with Foreign Students and on the staff of the Japanese relocation committee of the Home Missions Conference. His study of the service of the Church to Japanese evacuees, published under the title *Beyond Prejudice*, is well known. During the war, after a short internment experience he was released and continued his work with the blessing of the United States Government.

The conflict between the modernized Christian Japanese and the old inherited patterns of Japanese life and thought is nowhere presented more clearly or with greater brilliance than in this volume. The personal struggle between the author and his elder brother and sister, and the striving of himself and wife to achieve a way of life based on Christian ideals of freedom and co-operation is the symbol of the deeper struggle in which the entire Japanese nation is today engaged. Although this reviewer may be prejudiced, since he has known the entire Matsumoto family since Toru was a little boy, the above judgments are sustained by many critics who have reviewed the book objectively.

Marion Lerrigo, the coauthor, is probably responsible for the literary form of the book. If so, she has done an excellent job in producing a book that is filled with excitement, romance, and conflict, which in themselves should give it a wide hearing with the reading public.

WILLIS LAMOTT

The High Cost of Prejudice, by Bucklin Moon. Julian Messner, Inc. \$2.50.

Frankly, my first impression of this book was disappointing. "Just another volume on the Negro problem," I thought, "and

we have had a deluge on the subject of late."

But this was both an unfair and an untrue judgment. It was not "just another volume," for, in the first place, there seemed to be no special reason why the author should concern himself with the subject at all. He is not a professional reformer. On the contrary, Mr. Moon is a busy editor for another publishing concern, Doubleday and Company. Although he was born in Wisconsin, he has lived a good deal of his life in Florida, and it is what he has seen there that has principally caused him to write this book.

Mr. Moon's approach is likewise a new one, being primarily in terms of money—profits that industry is not making and wages that labor is not earning, due to prejudice on the part of the employer as well as the labor union. Just measured in dollars and cents and in the loss of efficiency on most levels of our economic life, America cannot afford this prejudice.

Mr. Moon carries this thesis right on down the line: we cannot afford employment discrimination—because it means less production; the South cannot afford to keep the Negro poor—because it results in keeping the South itself poor; the War Department cannot afford a Jim Crow army—because it results in a more expensive and a less efficient army; management cannot afford second-class citizens—because they buy fewer goods; labor cannot afford Jim Crow unions—because they have already split the labor movement; the American people cannot afford to foot the bill, year after year, of racial ghettos—because of the disease and crime which they breed.

This is a sober, straight-talking book. It is not a plea for more study but a challenge to action. By now it would seem that we should know what the Negro problem is. What are we going to do about it?

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Pressure Groups and Foreign Policy

*By Sumner Welles **

I

The lobbyists have staged a comeback. They have been having a field day in Washington. The corridors of the Capitol have been illuminated by their smiles. And the smiles are justified. Not since the days of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act have the privileged interests they represent been able to exercise so dominating an influence. Not since the enactment of that fatal measure has Congress favored legislation that so gravely jeopardizes our national interest.

The lessons to be learned from the results of our economic policy during the years between 1921 and 1933 are being quickly forgotten. The public memory is short, particularly at the time of apparent prosperity. Yet if there was ever any clear-cut demonstration of the damage done to the structure of our modern civilization by the abandonment of those liberal trade policies whose observance by the major European powers was so largely responsible for the peaceful and prosperous world in which we lived at the dawn of the twentieth century, that demonstration is to be found in the effects of the trade and financial practices

of the United States after the First World War. They helped to bring on the world depression of the nineteen thirties. They played no small part in stimulating the growth of those conditions which led to the Second World War.

Two years have passed since V-J Day. Only a few remember these lessons of the recent past. If the present trend persists, we may anticipate a return to precisely the same policies of economic isolation as those of the decades after the Treaty of Versailles.

In 1921 our allies owed us vast war debts. At the same time Germany had agreed to pay them reparations over a period of many years. There was no way in which either of these two sets of obligations could be paid except in gold, in goods, or in services. With the United States already the world's greatest creditor nation, only a small part of these debts could be paid in gold. Unless the creditor nations were willing to accept goods and services from their debtors in discharge of a major part of their obligations, the impoverishment of the debtor countries, and a general default, could not long be postponed.

At that juncture the United States embarked upon a policy of economic as well as political isolation. It demanded the payment in gold of the

* Sumner Welles served with distinction in our Department of State for twenty-eight years. He resigned as Undersecretary of State in 1943. Reprinted with permission from *The Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1947.

Allied debts. Yet it repeatedly raised its tariffs so that the debtor nations could not sell their goods in the American market in exchange for gold. While refusing officially to support the Allies in their insistence that Germany should and could pay the reparations due them, it approved the extension of huge credits to Germany by private American interests, although our Government knew that these advances were not being used to increase peaceful production for the payment of reparations, but rather for the construction of industries and public works capable of being utilized to prepare the German Reich for a new war of aggression.

So long as the United States refused to allow other countries to sell their goods here, not only were the Allies prevented from paying their debts to this country, but there could also be no healthy increase in production in other parts of the world.

Moreover, since the United States would not buy foreign goods, it could no longer expect to export its own surpluses of agricultural or manufactured goods unless it was willing to lend foreign purchasers the money with which to buy them, and resign itself to the fact that these new loans could not be repaid. And let it be remembered that the export trade of the United States normally accounts for one tenth of our national income.

If foreign countries were unable to sell to this country, it was obvious

that they would raise their own tariffs, and resort to exchange controls and to every form of trade preference and discrimination, in the hope that they might thereby at least temporarily bolster their own national economies. Under such conditions the movement of goods between countries rapidly dwindled. International trade was stifled. A world depression was brought on. Unemployment, poverty, and suffering, and ultimately the triumph of totalitarianism were its consequences. The stage was then prepared for the catastrophe of 1939.

We are accustomed to condemn unsparingly the system of imperial trade preferences agreed upon by the British Commonwealth of Nations at Ottawa in 1932, and the autarchic trade policies adopted by so many other nations at that time. It would be more helpful and more honest were we to ask ourselves the measure of responsibility which the United States must accept for the adoption of these practices.

The world situation which the American people today confront is far more ominous than that which faced the victorious powers in 1919. It is true that Lend-Lease has spared us the problem of Allied debts. But now, as then, a large part of the world's accumulated wealth has been destroyed or spent in destruction. Now, as then, much of the

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Yugoslavia and Return

*By Phillips Packer Elliott**

ON THE small steamer on which I was traveling down the Dalmatian coast from Split to Dubrovnik, there were many little family groups—some of them tourists from Czechoslovakia; other Yugoslavs going to their homes along the coast. I fell into conversation (via an interpreter) with an old lady, her daughter, and the little four-year-old grandson. Finding a Lincoln penny in my pocket, I gave it to the child, asking the grandmother if she knew who Lincoln was. She shook her head. It was an unkown name to her. But her daughter knew. She said, "Of course we know about Abraham Lincoln; and we wish Americans knew as much about Yugoslavia as we do about America."

The two-week visit last summer, on which seven American ministers were invited to go as guests of the Yugoslav Government, gave an opportunity to learn much about that country today, even if not much chance to delve into its historical roots. The chief feature of this country's present life is the way in which important history is being made. From the distance of America one is apt to think of all of Europe as bowed beneath an intolerable burden of despair. That this is the case in Ger-

many and other parts of western Europe is no doubt true: it is not true of the south Slavs. Indeed, we from America, entering the life of this relatively unknown land, felt that we were visitors from an ancient and somewhat jaded civilization, now surrounded by the frontier spirit which resembled the early days of the American West. The sounds of building and rebuilding were to be heard on all sides. The scars of bombings in Belgrade still remain, but the city presents a scene of activity and cleanliness, as does also Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. In Sarajevo we visited new apartments being constructed on the city's outskirts by volunteer workers—a feature that characterized many other aspects of the country's rehabilitation. A chorus of "No's" greeted my question, "Do you receive any salary?" asked of a group of students who were giving six weeks of their vacation on a volunteer work project. And they added, "We would be ashamed to receive money for helping our country." On the Youth Railway, on the new highway between Belgrade and Zagreb, at a machine-tool factory being completed near Belgrade, and at a dozen other places, we observed this zeal of the people. Old and young seem to want

*Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, New York.

to do something, even if only for a few hours a week, to help in the rebuilding of their country's life. This is carried over into many aspects of society, including universal education and many forms of social welfare. These, in addition to vigorous economic goals, are part of the country's "Five Year Plan." This plan they take very seriously indeed. A young man was quite annoyed when I said that he ought not worry if it took five and a half years. "We will do it in less than five," he asserted with great earnestness. Judging from their present enthusiasm, I have no doubt that they will.

Our journey was made chiefly to ascertain the state of religion in Yugoslavia, with special reference to the charge that has been widely made by the Roman Catholic Church, to the effect that the Church was being persecuted, and that the imprisonment of Archbishop Stepinac was an example of such persecution. We talked with a great many religious leaders—Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Moslem, Protestant, Jewish; we visited several scores of Churches; we met the faculties of both the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Belgrade and the Roman Catholic in Zagreb, and we visited Archbishop Stepinac in Lepoglava prison. On the basis of these discussions and experiences, made as a group and individually, our delegation reported: "In the light of what we have seen and the inquiries we

have made, we wish to state without reservation of any kind that there is today in Yugoslavia complete freedom of worship and respect for religious beliefs and institutions."

The tension centers chiefly about the Roman Catholic Church in Croatia. Here the Church has been compelled to accept a position of essential equality with all other religious groups. This is hard to take after so many centuries of political and economic privilege. Disestablishment always comes hard. Think of how difficult it would be in Spain. But Pastor Popp, of the Lutheran congregation in Zagreb, told us that he and his people had never felt so free. "Before the war, the Evangelical Churches were sometimes oppressed by the Roman Catholics, but now there is religious liberty." The testimony at point after point was to the effect that religious groups in Yugoslavia now enjoy a liberty and an equality such as they have never known before. Regarding Archbishop Stepinac, while it is far from pleasant to think of a High Church official as imprisoned for sixteen years, it is clear that his conviction was the result of prosecution on the grounds of collaboration with the occupying forces, and is not in any way to be regarded as a persecution of the Church. By his own testimony to us he was in good health, was served good food, celebrated Mass each day in his own chapel—and thanked us for coming!

The reactions since returning home and making our report have been now violent, now condescending, and sometimes friendly. We discovered that in many quarters it was not possible to say a good word about Yugoslavia or its people. Our report was described by Archbishop Cushing, of Boston, as "monstrous and infamous. Not only from the Roman Catholic Church, but in other circles, we found a desire to think only evil of anything and anybody within the Russian orbit. The Iron Curtain seems to have come down in many minds, and even the State Department had frowned upon granting our passports, and only after much pressure allowed us to go to this apparently outcast land. But, as we reported here and there, the tide seems to have turned. Perhaps after all, the Yugoslavs are people like ourselves and are deserving of at least a hearing. Over fifteen hundred ministers signed a statement endorsing the delegation's right to be heard and asking a fair reception for the report. In *The New York Herald Tribune*, four reporters, writing a survey of life beyond the Iron Curtain, said: "Everywhere we found freedom of worship. Even in Yugoslavia where some Catholic leaders like Monsignor Stepinac were convicted of collaborating with the Nazis, churches were open and crowded." Other reports from Yugoslavia have corroborated this judg-

ment. But the incident was perplexing and indeed alarming in several regards. For one thing, it revealed the extent to which people have accepted the division of the world into two parts, suspicious of each other now, hostile toward each other later on.

Again, it showed the tremendous power the Roman Catholic Church has through the press of America, its pressure largely setting the tone of news articles and editorial comment regarding eastern Europe. Moreover, the foreign policy of the United States is evidently based upon an attitude of suspicion and scorn of these nations, with as little commercial or cultural contact as possible. But there have been positive factors also. Most people are eager to be given a chance to see behind the Iron Curtain, and are glad to know of the normal life that goes on there. It is also evident that Christian people, especially in the Protestant Churches, are not in sympathy with an official policy that takes so little account of spiritual factors in our country's approach to eastern Europe. They know that men get along when they act as good members of the family in which God has placed them all. And there is the growing recognition that the peace of the world will never be preserved by statecraft, however clever, or by force, however powerful—but only "by my spirit, saith the Lord."

Twenty Million Hungry Children

*By Clifford Earle **

NO ASPECT of the war's aftermath is so terrible as its devastation of the lives of children.

American news correspondents have surveyed the plight of Europe's orphans in this potentially disastrous winter. They find that everywhere children are underfed, underclothed, and living in a state bordering on savagery. The situation in some regions is so serious that the future of whole nations is at stake.

For example, a famous doctor reports from Rumania: "Hundreds of nearly naked children are roaming the countryside in an eternal search for food. Many were casualties of mine-laying and have lost legs and arms. Whole families are existing on cucumber soup and on bread made of dirt and straw." There are 200,000 war orphans in the country.

The picture varies greatly, of course. In rapidly recovering Belgium nearly all orphans have been absorbed in the community and are having a new start. In Greece, however, tragedy is increasing with 150,000 child refugees already added to the 300,000 or more other orphans of World War II.

The beginning of 1948 finds 20,000,000 children on the continent living in misery and squalor, in cold

and fear, and hostilities ceased nearly three years ago. While politicians squander time and words, children continue to suffer. Everywhere in Europe Governments consider children the No. 1 priority.

It is reported that in Albania, with its population of more than a million, the infant mortality rate is nearly fifty per cent. Yugoslavia is doing its level best, through Government ministries and voluntary agencies, to aid its more than 500,000 orphans and hundreds of thousands of undernourished and underclothed children who have parents and not much more, but its best is not enough.

In the Paris area, where there are more than 10,000 orphans, juvenile courts report a record number of cases. French public-health services find that one of their greatest problems is the deterioration in child mentality because of war conditions with the lack of supervision, undernourishment, and the temptations of the black market.

The Italian Government attempts to assist 150,000 war orphans, but the aid is woefully inadequate. Appropriations for the year have amounted to the equivalent of \$2.70 for each child. Poland's war orphans, nearly 500,000 in number, are housed in 1,000 special homes throughout the country, formerly

* Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

palaces on confiscated estates.

The picture has a brighter aspect, however. In no other phase of national and international recovery is so much being done to fight the consequences of war. In no field is there so much honest, nonpolitical activity that cuts right across the East-West barrier.

With astonishing speed, the International Children's Emergency Fund, an agency of the United Nations, has gone into action to stem the deterioration of child health. With less than \$40,000,000 to use, the fund is attempting to provide at least one good meal a day for 3,000,000 children in twelve of the hungriest and most devasted countries.

Contributions to the fund from fourteen Governments amount to about \$27,000,000, including the \$15,000,000 provided by our own economy-minded Congress. The most generous Government contributions proportionately are Canada's \$5,000,000 and the \$1,000,000 from Uruguay. Receipts from U. N. R. R. A. and private sources amount to nearly \$12,000,000.

The meal a day these 3,500,000 children are getting costs roughly 7 cents. Of that amount the I. C. E. F. is contributing $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents by providing powdered milk, a little margarine, and economical types of meat or fish for stew or sandwiches. The rest of the meal is made up of foods provided from indigenous supplies by the recipient Governments—

bread, spaghetti, or some other cereal food; potatoes and other vegetables as available; and sometimes fish. Cod-liver oil, contributed by Newfoundland and Norway, is given to the children who need it most.

The program of the I. C. E. F. this winter includes the great work of a Swiss agency, Don Suisse, which last year provided a meal a day for 1,000,000 children in 7 countries. With a population of about 4,000,000, the people of Switzerland contributed to Europe's children, through this one agency alone, more than \$1.20 a person. At a similar rate, the contribution of the United States to the I. C. E. F. would have been \$170,000,000.

So, a measure of aid is being given to 3,500,000 orphans and dependent children in the war-stricken countries of Europe. This aid must be extended until all of Europe's 20,000,000 needy children are included in the program. And it must be continued with adequate support until the countries of Europe are on their feet and can take care of their own.

The story of the need should convince us of our responsibility. God has blessed us in America, and we are doubly blessed if we share our abundance. We have enough and to spare. Here, too, applies the doctrine of the "inasmuch"—the compelling word of our Lord, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Does the Church Reach the Layman?

*By Ernest A. Kelford **

FOUR years ago I retired from the ministry and returned to work as an inspector in automobile shops. I hoped to find out if my preaching of the last thirty years had carried over into places where laymen worked. I wanted to discover just how much the Church was contributing to the well-being of society.

In the shops I was a member of the U.A.W.—CIO, and of the Lansing, Michigan, CIO Council, and of the Lansing CIO P.A.C. I am now a member of the Industrial Relations Committee of the Michigan Council of Churches and of the Democratic committee of the county.

After working in the shops for one year, I attended a meeting of ministers with whom I had associated prior to my retirement. A minister was speaking as I entered. I thought to myself, "This man seems alert; he is on his toes, and he will no doubt say something worth hearing." I listened for a while and then realized that he was merely repeating himself; he had nothing to say worth hearing, or so it seemed to me. I looked around at the ministers present and found nobody listening.

I said to myself: "This meeting is

dead. These ministers have slipped." Then I remembered. These men had not slipped; they were the same men I had worked with and respected only a year ago. I must have changed through working in the shops and unions.

One evening a man in our shop died suddenly of a heart attack. The men gathered around to see the body, and for hours the shop buzzed with talk. I thought that this would be a good opportunity to find out if funeral sermons and sermons on the next life with rewards and punishment had influenced laymen. I decided that I would start conversations with the men as I went around the shop inspecting their work, trying to find out if they were thinking of this man as still living, as being in heaven or hell somewhere in the universe. Did they think of the man as being, right now, in some judgment hall where the great Judge sat on the throne? To discover this, I did not rely on direct questioning but listened for a change in tone of voice or for an unfinished sentence, for the subjects they avoided as well as the ones about which they spoke.

So far as I could discover, no person thought of the man as still living. Heaven, hell, salvation, atonement, eternal life, judgment, and rewards and punishment beyond the grave

* Reprinted from *The Divinity School News*, University of Chicago, November 1, 1947. Used with permission. Mr. Kelford was a student in the Divinity School in 1918-1922, not long after he came to this country from England.

were not in their vocabulary. The dead man was finally and completely dead for them.

When I went into the shops, I expected to be able to pick out those who had been trained in Church and Sunday School. I thought that men who had been taught for forty and fifty years to do justice and love kindness would display attitudes of greater fairness and self-sacrifice toward their shopmates than those who had received no such training. Such traits of character would, I thought, get them elected to offices within the union. I was mistaken. Church members reveal those qualities no more than non-Church members. Of the many union officers I knew, few belonged to a Church. When I found a man respected for his justice and kindness and his love for his neighbors, he might or might not be a Church member.

In shop discussions the men would quote doctors, politicians, educators, and lawyers as authorities on various subjects, but no one in my hearing ever quoted a minister as an authority on any subject.

In the pulpit I emphasized one set of virtues; in the shops I emphasized another set. The virtues I used to emphasize were such as were connected with my job, the ministry. The virtues I emphasized in the shops were such as had to do with my shop life. Ministerial virtues are Church loyalty, stewardship, study of the Bible, leading in prayer, teaching in

Sunday School, faithfulness in Church offices, bringing others to Church. The virtues of the shop men are fairness, justice, honest dealing, loyalty to shopmates in their need, taking a little blame to help a buddy, willingness to risk something for the union, courage to stand up to a foreman against injustice. Negative virtues like avoidance of cussing, gambling, smoking, and drinking do not count in the shops, not even among the Church members.

Recently I became involved in a factional quarrel within the Democratic party in this county. At the same time I was able to observe a factional quarrel within our own Church. I found the same virtues and the same vices in both groups. Some politicians showed generosity and fair dealing. Some Church people did the same. Other politicians used half-truths to cheat their opponents; they whispered, smeared, and pulled secret wires to gain advantage. The Church factions did the same. Generosity and vindictiveness were equally evident in both groups. The politicians used an occasional cuss word, but such words had no meaning for the hearer or the user; they did not actually affect the spirit of the users. The Church people opened and closed their meetings with prayer, but their prayers had no apparent influence on the people present.

For fifteen years prior to my re-
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One Year Later: A Report

*By Cameron P. Hall **

A DEMONSTRATED concern by the Churches for what happens to people in economic life is not new; but some aspects of its present form and scope are new. For over a year now people of the Churches have been meeting together, for the most part by special invitation of official Church bodies. The lay people have come from business and industry, from farm and consumer organizations, from labor and the professions, and as economists and housewives. Joined with them have been clergymen who have given special thought to what ethics and economics have to say to each other.

On these occasions there has been little formal speaking; instead there has been much talking together in small groups and as a conference. Room has been made for variations within the general pattern, and the sponsorship has varied as well.

The National Study Conference on the Church and Economic Life was convened by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in Pittsburgh, Pa., in February of last year. Following it was launched a series of "little Pittsburghs" under the sponsorship of state and city councils of Churches; when this is read, eight of these will have been

held, lasting from one to three days each. Included in this broad picture should be the newly constituted Department of the Church and Economic Life of the Federal Council of Churches whose forty-two members, leaders in the Church and economic life of the nation, have already held their first meeting.

What follows is essentially a reporting job by one who has been an eyewitness in all but one of the occasions referred to above. In the nature of the case it has a limited value. It has been impossible for one person to take in all that has gone on even at a single conference, and, no doubt, if another individual were reporting there would be additions or changes in emphasis.

1. *What has been the response of laymen to an active concern of the Church in economic life?* The response is significant in size and in depth of feeling. Laymen have been waiting for the Churches to lead out in this field. "This is what I am looking for from my Church—and the time we have may be short," is the way a layman who is personnel manager in a large manufacturing plant put it in a conference planning committee. Some laymen think there is the need for greater ethical underpinning of contemporary economic life. Others confess a sense of personal

* Executive Secretary, Department of the Church and Economic Life, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

need for greater understanding and commitment of their part as Christians in economic activity. Among still others a sensitive conscience toward the injustice and hardship inflicted on many is a challenging factor. It is impossible to escape the strong impression that this kind of program is for many a revitalizing one, both in individual Christian living and in enthusiasm for the Churches.

There is an over-all feeling of being very much in the exploratory stage of the area being studied. But there are a number of laymen, it must be reported, who are not just indifferent toward an exploration's being made: they are opposed to it. Their stand is on what many call the "simple Gospel." Their number seems to be small, but the promotion of such conferences brings to the surface their view that economic life has nothing to gain and the Churches much to lose when the latter concern themselves with the former.

2. What do laymen feel is the nature of the responsibility of the Churches for economic life? There has been all but unanimity on not only the right but the obligation of the Churches to influence economic life. This near unanimity may be due somewhat to the fact that those who stand on the "simple Gospel" are unlikely to devote time to such conferences. But this does not take away from the impressiveness of the other view as evidenced in all the "Pitts-

burghs," both "big" and "little." This impressiveness rests not only in its numerical strength but also in its representation. These Church people have come from just under thirty denominations. They are to be found in a wide range of occupations and circumstances. They are from geographical areas widely separated. They take their stand on what they call the "whole Gospel." Because economic life is a part of life itself, God has a claim upon it, for all of life comes within his creative and redemptive purpose and activity.

An overwhelming majority who stand on the "whole Gospel" position hold with the Pittsburgh Church Conference Report that "the principles of the Christian Gospel are applicable to the structure of social relations and to the organization of society, as well as to the personal relations of human beings. This means that the principles of the Christian Gospel are to be applied to the structure of social relations and the organization of society." This attitude has been so easily and widely held that it has often been assumed without discussion. But it must likewise be reported that there is a minority who affirm the responsibility of the Churches for economic life largely within individualistic terms. While it appears to be small-sized, this minority is still large enough to challenge the thinking of the Churches. The expansion of Christian life and vision into the social

field in this country that came so largely out of the life and thought of men like Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch has obviously not reached into all circles of Church leadership, especially among the laity.

The impression made on at least one observer was that those who expressed the responsibility of the Churches for economic life solely in individualistic terms do so because they have not given sufficient thought to the wider frame of reference or because they are uninformed. For example, in one conference a delegate was quite emphatic for the individualistic approach alone. Yet later in the discussion he was equally insistent that the Churches should help to cultivate pressure against the policies of labor unions which he felt are unchristian and undemocratic. He quickly caught his inconsistency when it was pointed out to him. On another occasion a few in a group easily agreed with a speaker who found the existence and need of labor unions solely in terms of past and present unchristian employers: if individual employers were all of a different sort, any justification for unions would be gone. In the discussion that followed two points were stressed: first, the need and value of labor unions are not only defensive and protective but are positive and constructive; and secondly, labor unions are necessary because of the impersonality of the structure of

modern industrial life, particularly due to mass production techniques and to the corporate form of ownership.

3. *What kind of subjects come up for discussion?* There is a strong conviction that if Christians are to be effective they must deal with matters in economic life that are important to people. This has led to a readiness to take up concrete situations and specific issues, including many that are controversial. There has been throughout a united earnestness to clarify the general nature of the responsibility which the Churches have toward economic life. But the need to go beyond this has been equally stressed. The Churches must not only assert this responsibility, they must also define what it is in respect to major problems in economic life.

These specific issues have been numerous and various. Industrial relations have been a major heading: management and labor relations in plant and in industry as well as across the collective bargaining table. As a very broad generalization my impression is that this subject is given priority in the thinking of those from management. What can the Christian Churches do to help both parties in industry into a more co-operative relationship?

Economic problems which the individual breadwinner and his family face make up another major head-

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Alcohol in the Social Situation

*By Evelyn Lincoln Archer **

IT IS intended that this lecture should be based on scientific facts showing how alcohol affects behavior. The scientific truths proven by experimentation are much to be desired over the age-old misconceptions about the action of alcohol in the body. It has been my experience, when dealing with youth, that facts have more appeal to them than "moralizing."

Let us review briefly some of the many experiments that have been performed by scientists in the field of alcohol studies. Nearly two hundred separate experiments have been made with persons to whom various amounts of alcoholic beverage had been given. The purpose was to find out whether alcohol, particularly in small amounts, improved or impaired muscular co-ordination, skill, memory, judgment, and other psychological functions.

A review of the reports on such experiments reflects that the effect of alcohol is that of reduced efficiency. Alcohol reduces tension and lowers efficiency. When people drink alcoholic beverages they lower their efficiency in a social situation regardless of how proficient they may feel they have become from the

drink. Many people drink alcoholic beverages in the belief that alcohol increases strength, alertness, and brilliance. Other people, realizing that alcohol is a depressant and not a stimulant, drink to relieve tension, to be less alert, to relax. Alcohol does perform this function, but youth does not need artificial relaxation, and young people should wish to be more alert, intelligent, and zestful.

The person who feels that alcohol increases his efficiency should look deeper into his personality and find the underlying cause for his tensions, anxieties, and inhibitions. Then he should employ more constructive methods to increase his confidence, and solve his personality problems, because the person who has an emotional and social maladjustment to life, who uses alcohol to give him confidence, efficiency, and ease, is in danger of becoming an alcoholic.

The use of the word "depressant" should be clarified. In scientific language it means a lessening of the activity of the brain and thus a reduction of attention, critical attitude, and judgment. The lowering of self-criticism in the timid person relieves him, quite true, but that does not increase efficiency. It only lessens judgment. The word "judg-

* Executive Secretary, Austin, Texas, Committee for Education on Alcoholism, affiliated with the National Committee for Education on Alcoholism.

ment" covers many complicated thought processes. The more complex judgments show impairment first after the intake of alcohol. Loss of sharpness in judgment resulting from alcohol is always shown in tests of ability to estimate lapse of time. Differences in loudness of sounds and intensity of light enter into the judgment picture in determining distance and speed.

Looking further into the performance picture, let us see how alcohol affects skilled performance which requires co-ordination in addition to perception. Take the task of typing. One sees the manuscript and must then translate the words into finger motion. A full report of all that happens in the process would be impossible in this article; suffice it to say that the ability of the eyes to observe and of the fingers to respond is slowed by varying degrees after taking small amounts of alcoholic beverage.

Turning aside from mechanical tasks, let us discuss the effect of alcohol on certain mental functions. What effect does alcohol have on memory? Memory is important in most human behavior. Experiments have shown a reduction up to twelve per cent in persons who have had one or two ounces of whisky. After four ounces of whisky the loss in ability to recall was forty-four per cent.

The conclusions to be drawn from the many experiments are varied,

but one fact is unquestionably true: Alcohol is a depressant and not a stimulant. It affects first the higher brain centers which control voluntary motions and the lower centers later as the alcohol concentration increases in the blood stream.

So far, we have discussed the effect of moderate drinking and small amounts of alcohol, and find that judgment is first affected. Let us now consider what can happen when alcoholic beverage is used in larger quantities. What is alcohol addiction and what is alcoholism? Alcoholism is a compulsive dependence on alcohol coupled with a state of emotional and social maladjustment within the individual. The alcoholic is a person who cannot take the first drink without losing control of his drinking. In other words, he has used alcohol for a purpose for a long period of time and has developed into a compulsive drinker. The word "compulsive," or "compulsion," has special psychiatric meaning. A compulsion is a behavior resulting from an inner drive of the individual which defies reason and judgment. The person so afflicted pursues a line of conduct regardless of his wishes.

A person can be afflicted with a compulsion to do things other than drink; a compulsion to be overly neat is a harmless behavior, but carried to extremes it can be quite irritating to those who must live with the crank. The alcoholic is driven

to excessive drinking over and over again although his judgment tells him that he should not indulge in that kind of conduct. When such a compulsion develops, a person is an alcoholic and an ill person. He needs assistance in order to be rehabilitated. He must learn that it is the first drink which sets off the chain of responses leading to trouble, and he must be re-educated to live without alcohol.

The pattern in the compulsive drinker is a psychological habit and not a physical addiction to alcohol, because alcohol is not a habit-forming substance in the body. It is the purpose for which the alcoholic drinks which gets him into trouble. He drinks for escape, for relief from tension, to keep from facing a disturbing situation in his life. Alcohol serves a purpose for that person, and the reward in form of temporary relief seems greater than the punishment that follows.

The rehabilitation of an alcoholic would necessarily embrace a constructive philosophy of life, a fellowship group that would help to fill the needs for social adjustment, and psychiatric analysis to straighten out his thinking, which would lead to a clearing away of his abnormal anxieties, fear, and inhibitions.

In teaching young people about alcohol I would let the facts speak for themselves. There is today a great abundance of scientific material available to interested persons.

It is my belief that a person should make no statement at all about alcohol unless he has scientific facts on the subject. The problem of alcoholism is a very complex one. The solution is not so simple as total prohibition because prohibition does not prohibit consumption but only prevents legal sale of alcoholic beverages. I think it is all important to keep faith with our young people. Scientific facts are not only trustworthy but more interesting than old misconceptions that have no basis in fact. There is ample proof that emotional stability is very important in a complex society; that alcoholic beverage, especially when taken by young people, can cause emotional instability; that alcohol impairs judgment; that in youth, impairment of judgment is especially dangerous because youth lacks social experience upon which to rely.

The problem of inebriety is very complex. The desire to drink to excess is the manifestation of a deeper problem. Alcoholism is a complex personality problem with psychiatric implications, and regardless of what we think about how a person became addicted to alcohol, and regardless of how we feel about alcohol, his rehabilitation is worth-while to society and to his family. Rehabilitation can be brought about only after a thorough understanding of the nature of the problem. Public education is a necessary part of the solution.

Death at the Stone Bridge *

By William G. Mather

JOE'S dead all right, and shoveled six feet under. The coroner called it accident.

I call it murder.

There wasn't anything accidental about it. Everything went off according to plan.

Joe got through collecting over at Curbtown at three thirty, and started driving toward home on the Pike Road, same as always. He'd been working fast and he was tired, and the day was warm, so he held the car to a conservative forty-five and relaxed.

On Dutch Hill he saw the Cabot whisky billboard, with its red-coated rider taking a lean hunter over the fence. A thought flicked into his mind and right out again—he was driving, and he knew that whisky and gasoline don't mix.

Two miles farther and there was the Seaman's ad, with its typically distinguished gentleman, and the slogan, "Clear heads choose Seaman's." Joe knew he'd look like a fool in a top hat, but the idea of a drink that would slake your thirst and still keep your head clear for driving made him run his tongue over his lips. He didn't mind bending an elbow with the boys now and then.

* Used with permission of the Council on Christian Social Progress, Northern Baptist Convention.

He turned on the radio and got the last half of the four o'clock newscast, steady and quick over the whine of the tires, with its cordial signature, "'By-High now from High Round Beer, the brew that lifts you when you lift the glass!" He could do with a lift, at that.

So, although he had meant to drive straight home, he turned in at the Dingle Dell tourist camp and had a beer. There was a new waitress there, with honey-colored hair and a come-again smile, so he had two more. By that time he had found that both the honey and the smile were synthetic, so he paid his fare and rolled on again.

The break had made him feel better. He knew it wasn't the beer, because it was only beer—had it been whisky that would have been something else again, sure. So he let his foot rest a little heavier on the treadle, and skimmed along in the cool of the afternoon, not a worry on his mind.

You know the road, don't you? Those little dips and rises through the rolling fields? Well, the Curbtown bus took the Stone Bridge in one of those dips just as Joe topped the next rise at fifty-five per.

For just a half second he thought he had plenty of time, the bus would be off before he got on, and then he

realized he was doing better on that downgrade than he had figured on, and he jerked his foot off the accelerator and stamped down on the brake. The bus seemed to be frozen to the bridge. His tires squealed, the gravel flew, the car rocked, and the sweat stood out on his hands and on his scalp. The last thing he felt was one drop, cold as the finger tip of death, right between his shoulder blades. Then he smacked the end of the bridge.

I took the body by the feet, and Doc by the hands, and we swung it over into the long wicker basket. Then Doc took a towel and picked up his hat, and what was in it, and put that in at the shoulder end. We followed the hearse back into town and sent a junker out for the car.

I let Doc tell his wife.

Like I said, the coroner called it accident.

But those ads were there to make guys like Joe want a drink, and make it look like it's safe and genteel, and they did. And the light-haired gal at the Dingle was paid to stretch a ten-cent drinker into a twenty or thirty center, and she did. Every-

thing was on schedule, even the bus.

It was murder.

Sure, I know he wasn't drunk.

He didn't slur his speech, nor waver as he walked out to the car. But he'd had about as much alcohol in those beers as there is in three shots of whisky, just the same. It slowed him up just a split-lightning fraction of a second so he had to make two answers for that bus-and-bridge problem, and there was time for only one.

Well, accident or murder, Joe's out of it now. It's his widow and the three kids we've got left to worry about. He only had a couple thousand in insurance. Felt he couldn't afford more. Felt too he was a good driver. And he was, when let alone.

But he was poor at figures. Just an average drinker, he dropped a hundred and sixty dollars on the bars and over the counters, here and there, in the course of a year. Even at his age when he died, he could've taken out six thousand more straight life, nearly double that in term.

He wouldn't have felt the finger of death on his back at the Stone Bridge either.

"The Fidelity Union Life Insurance Company of Dallas, Texas, is now segregating total abstainers in a special insurance class, and offers a popular Preferred Risk plan for people who do not drink alcoholic beverages. While this has been established especially for children and young people with extra cash dividends as their reward for being total abstainers, anyone from birth to fifty-five years of age is eligible."

—From the *Baptist Standard*. Reprinted from *The National Temperance Digest*, December, 1947.

It Has Happened—in Chico

*By William M. MacInnes **

CHICO, a city of about 15,000 population, situated in the Sacramento Valley, California, has been torn asunder by a controversy about the teaching in the high school of a "Family Relations" unit in a senior course known as Basic 12.

This controversy received widespread attention when, on February 26, 1947, the community was visited by a subcommittee of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature to hold a public hearing. The chairman of the committee is Senator Jack B. Tenney, of Los Angeles.

The hearing was held because "a delegation of World War II Veterans called on the Chairman of the Committee and presented a petition, signed by nearly 100 residents of Chico, requesting an investigation of certain books used in connection with a course of study at the Chico High School."¹

To understand the controversy there are two things to keep in mind. First, there is the matter of school procedures, which revolves around the question of whether the school officials were within the school law

when they instituted the course. This problem is not our immediate concern. We give our attention to the second phase of the question—whether or not "subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity so as to leave us unprepared to resist attack from without and within."² According to the resolution creating the committee, subversive persons or groups are those "motivated by hatred of American ideals, our republican form of government and democratic processes, some bound together by allegiance to foreign powers, (who) are . . . even now seeking to achieve by subversion what we have so valiantly fought to sustain from force."³

This is not a hearsay report. Because of my interest in the whole affair, I attended the hearing from its opening until the proceedings were adjourned. I was stunned and angered by what took place in Memorial Hall, Chico. It does not seem possible that in the name of democracy such a thing could have happened.

We need to keep in mind that this was a "Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities." How did they operate?

* Minister, Bidwell Memorial Presbyterian Church, Chico, California.

¹ Third Report—Un-American Activities in California, 1947, Report of Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the Fifty-seventh California Legislature, Sacramento, 1947, p. 323.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1.
³ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

They visited Chico because the chairman had been presented with a petition "signed by nearly 100 residents of Chico." The chairman informed me himself that the committee's investigator had been in Chico fully a week before the date of the hearing. In spite of that fact, outside of the school administrators and teachers, the only witnesses called were known to be on one side of the controversy. Why the investigator had not discovered there was another side is difficult to understand.

This committee is charged by the resolution creating it "to hold public hearings at any place in California at which hearing *the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the Committee.*"⁴ (The italics are mine.) At least four witnesses were called who gave their opinions on one side of the question. Others were not given a chance to present their views, even though such an opportunity had been requested. At the close of the hearing, pressed by irate citizens who requested to be heard, the chairman said, as reported in *The Chico Record*, February 27, 1947, "We'll be back." The committee did not return—and yet they have published their findings.⁵

It is impossible to put into black and white the spirit, the voice inflections, and the evident bias of the

investigators. The *Chico Enterprise*, the day following in a front page editorial under the heading "Senator Tenney, We Protest!" said, "We protest the obvious unfairness of yourself and your committee's attorney, R. E. Combs, in your questioning of Chico school officials as compared with your verbal back-patting of witnesses who appeared in opposition to the family relations course. . . .

"We protest your announcement at the opening of yesterday's hearing that you proposed to conduct a fair, impartial, and objective inquiry when your statement was followed by proceedings so obviously biased."

To the writer, the most serious factor involved is that the whole investigation was built upon a contention that cannot be substantiated in fact. This is a serious charge to make, but it is my reasoned judgment that books, which were so much a part of the investigation, should not have been considered. They had been removed by the school administrators, and in no way were a part of the course.

A committee, made up of representatives of the community and the school, had been called together by the principal of the high school to act, in an advisory capacity, in building the unit on family relations. I was a member of the committee. One of the leading physicians

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⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3, section (e).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 323-358.

For Time



Gustave Lorey Studio

William H. McConahgy

The Division of Social Education and Action is gratified to announce the inauguration of a significant program to serve the Presbyterian Church as it sets itself to the task of realizing the will of God in the relation of races and cultures. The Board of National Missions and Board of Christian Education have for some years been seeking resources for a program to secure action consistent with the clear declaration of the Presbyterian General Assembly "for a nonsegregated Church and a nonsegregated society." The need for specialized work in developing methods and giving leadership in order to bring to life the statements of Christian principles adopted by the Church has become increasingly apparent. It is for this

purpose that the Boards have through the Interboard Commission established the Institute of Racial and Cultural Relations to be administratively a part of the Division of Social Education and Action.

The purpose of the Institute is to:

A. Provide the implementation to the General Assembly's report on racial and cultural relations, and restudy of its recommendations.

B. Provide a counseling service for the Church on matters relating to racial and cultural relations through:

1. Continuation of the program of spot studies in this field.

2. Development of a file of case studies, programs, and techniques.

C. Set up and conduct for ministers and Church workers (lay and professional) training institutes in racial and cultural relations.

D. Develop a plan and technique for the use of teams of specialists to deal with emergency situations in community racial and cultural tensions.

The Director and Associate Director of the Institute are Rev. William H. McConahgy and Jesse Belmont Barber, D. D. Mr. McConahgy comes to this new office from the pastorate of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church of Albany, New York. He is a graduate of Columbia College and Union Theological Seminary of New York City. Mr. McConahgy was a member of Sherwood Eddy's Seminar to Europe in 1936 and went as a delegate of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., to the World Conference of Christian Youth at Amsterdam, Holland, in 1939. In Albany he has served as

Like These

Moderator of the Albany Presbytery and for two terms as President of the Federation of Churches. He has served across racial and cultural lines, with such responsibilities as chaplain and director of athletics for Negro boys of a Gould Camp on Long Island.

Dr. Jesse Belmont Barber, Dean of the Theological Seminary, Lincoln University, since 1943, has from the first, with Dr. Horace M. Bond, President of Lincoln Seminary, given invaluable direction to planning and establishing the Institute of Racial and Cultural Relations. The co-operation of Lincoln University has made it possible for Dr. Barber to add this new assignment to his present duties at the seminary. Dr. Barber is a graduate of Lincoln University and Auburn Seminary. Before coming to Lincoln he served pastorates at Leonard Street Presbyterian Church of Chattanooga and at the Grace Presbyterian Church of Seattle. He was also the Director of Sunday School Missions for the Synod of Blue Ridge, and for ten years was vice-chairman of the Interracial Committee of Chattanooga and Secretary of the Tennessee State Interracial Commission.

**"Though I
bestow all
my goods—"**

The Christian Church is deeply involved in the recovery of Europe and the restoration of the world. The success of E.R.P. depends not only on how much is done but why it is done. We now have the opportunity by decisive action to determine the character of the European Recovery Plan in seeing that our aid is based on justice and compassion. Aid offered from fear of Russia will be "too little" and too bad! Such base motives for action will not make friends in Europe. By the test of "enlightened selfishness" it were better if we did not bestow any of our goods to feed these poor—for it will profit us nothing! But if the nation bases its action on compassion, the need of Europe will be met, the required ordering of our own economy assured, and we may even hope to reach behind the Iron Curtain. The Federal Council is organizing the Church through special services on February 22 and a "mission" to Washington on March 11 to express its concern for European recovery and world restoration.



Adams Photo Service

Jesse Belmont Barber

Pressure Groups and Foreign Policy

(Continued from page 2)

initial postwar effort must be devoted to the mere rebuilding of houses, factories, and communications. But this time the reconstruction needs are far larger than they were a quarter of a century ago, for the wastage has been infinitely greater.

A universal co-operative effort is needed if the world is to recover. If the United States reverts to the policy of economic isolation which it pursued so disastrously after the First World War, we shall have not even the glimmer of any hope for prosperity and for a stable international order in the years to come.

2

There is no more striking example of the way in which our predatory interests have recently been able to get our Government to supply them with fat subsidies at the expense of the American consumer, and to the prejudice of our foreign policy, than the Sugar Act of 1948, forced through Congress at the close of the session.

The domestic sugar industry has long been a potent influence in drafting our tariffs. Whenever legislation affecting sugar comes before Congress, the beet sugar industry of the Middle Western and Rocky Mountain states joins hands with the sugar cane industry of Louisiana and of Florida, and with the refining interests of the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards.

It has long been notorious that our own sugar industry is uneconomic. It could not survive except for the subsidies paid to it by the American consumer—directly through compensation handouts, and indirectly through tariff protection. If the American consumer could buy the sugar he needs from Cuba and from the other sugar-producing areas of the tropics, he would be paying a much lower price.

The combination of these domestic in-

terests in 1930 succeeded, through the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, in raising still higher the already exorbitant duties on foreign sugar. Cuba, on the brink of economic depression, and dependent upon her sugar crop for approximately eighty per cent of her national income, was ruined. Most of the Cuban people, and particularly the Cuban workers, were reduced to starvation. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act was the chief cause of the social and political upheavals which subsequently afflicted the Republic of Cuba for more than a decade.

The Jones-Costigan Act, sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, and passed by Congress in 1934, was a constructive and farsighted attempt to repair the damage done by the special interests responsible for the Hawley-Smoot tariff. Domestic and territorial producers were allotted an equitable participation in the American market, while Cuba was also given its fair share, as well as the assurance that if consumption should exceed the estimates upon which the quota allocations had been based, Cuba would be permitted to supply the major part of the additional sugar needed.

A trade agreement was then negotiated which reduced the duty on Cuban sugar. The Cuban producers were enabled to obtain a reasonable profit and to provide employment on fair terms for Cuban labor.

In 1937, the Sugar Act of 1934 was extended for a further period. In the new act the so-called full-duty countries of the Western Hemisphere—primarily Peru and the Dominican Republic, since Cuba was granted a 20 per cent preference after its independence—were also given a share in the American market whenever the sugar consumed here was in excess of the annual quota estimates.

The sugar legislation in force during the past fourteen years, by providing a guarantee of an assured market at a fair profit, saved the domestic industry from extinction, as our American sugar producers well know. But it also served the American con-

sumer by preventing the further expansion of an uneconomic industry at the expense of the public. It restored prosperity to the Cuban people, and raised the national incomes of the other American republics which could now sell some of their sugar in this market.

The influence which the pressure groups were able to exercise in drafting the Sugar Act of 1948 has eliminated the advantages which the American consumer and the peoples of Cuba, Peru, and the Dominican Republic secured from the earlier legislation. Domestic interests have given themselves a share in the American market larger than the total amount of sugar the domestic industry has ever yet been able to produce in any one year. We may be sure that they will press for a still larger share later on.

Such full-duty countries as Peru and the Dominican Republic are now deprived of chance to sell here. The new act gives Cuba a quota that is less than one half of the amount Cuba has sold us in recent years. To make matters worse, a provision that was inserted in the bill threatens Cuba with a still greater reduction in the amount of sugar it can sell in the United States unless it agrees to pay the claims of a few large American corporations.

Public opinion in the United States does not yet appreciate the impact which all this is having upon our inter-American relations. The inter-American system did not grow up solely because of the political features of our Good-Neighbor Policy. It developed because this Government between 1933 and 1946 was willing also to undertake a policy of economic and financial co-operation with the other American republics, and to buy from them as well as to sell to them.

The passage of the Sugar Act of 1948 has had disastrous repercussions. It has been regarded throughout the hemisphere as an indication that the United States is abandoning its co-operative policy toward Latin America and that economic decisions

in Washington are once more being made by the same privileged interests that wrote the Hawley-Smoot Act.

3

The extent to which the lobbies are hamstringing this Government in its attempt to achieve the major objectives of its foreign policy is becoming daily more glaring.

It has become axiomatic to most Americans that the preservation of the British Commonwealth of Nations is essential to the security of the United States and to the maintenance of some form of free enterprise system in the world. The Marshall Plan, the credits already extended to Great Britain, and recognition by this Government that further assistance to London will be necessary so that Britain may emerge from its present collapse, are all concrete evidence that the preservation of the British Commonwealth of Nations has properly become a cardinal principle in American foreign policy.

It would, therefore, seem logical for this Government, in its trade relations with the Commonwealth nations, to adopt measures designed to strengthen their national economies; to increase rather than to lessen the means by which they can secure the dollars they so urgently require.

The prosperity of Australia and New Zealand depends largely upon the profitable sale of their wool to Britain and the United States. Yet, had it not been for a Presidential veto, Congress in June would have enacted legislation imposing an import tax, in addition to the existing duty, on wool produced in Australia and New Zealand, and would thereby have seriously restricted, if not abolished, the opportunity of these countries to sell their chief export in this market.

The action of Congress undermined the very real feeling of friendship that had grown up during the war, and did much to check the growing desire on the part of

the peoples of both dominions for closer relations with the United States.

Yet here again, in order to provide still fatter subsidies to a single American industry—an industry that cannot supply the various qualities of wool we need nor the total quantity we need, and an industry capable of prospering without further benefits at the expense of the American consumer—the pressure groups in Washington were able to force a majority in Congress to vote for a measure wholly at variance with one of the most vital objectives in our foreign policy.

4

The greatest immediate domestic threat to our foreign policy is to be found in the determination of a large number of Republicans and a few Democrats to amend the Trade Agreements Act so as to permit Congress to nullify in future trade agreements tariff concessions made by the Executive.

For thirteen years the Trade Agreements Act has stood out as the one enlightened and constructive achievement in the field of international trade relations.

If Congress amends the act as proposed, our liberal commercial policy, which has proved itself to be of immeasurable value to American labor, industry, and agriculture, and has contributed so much toward keeping international trade alive, will go by the board. For if foreign Governments are now to be warned that every tariff concession granted by the American Executive may be canceled by Congress, what incentive would there be for them to grant corresponding reductions in their own tariffs?

The Marshall Plan has rightly been heralded as the one method so far proposed by which some advance might be made in the economic reconstruction of western Europe, and by which the social and political collapse of the European democracies could be prevented.

If the pressure groups succeed in their efforts to raise American tariff rates, and

to impose other obstacles to the importation of foreign goods, the help we may give western Europe under the Marshall Plan will prove to be money thrown down the drain. The proposed economic and social reconstruction of western Europe would be impossible. Whatever hopes the American farmer and the American manufacturer may today possess for the expansion, or even the maintenance, of their export trade must be then abandoned.

It is unfortunate that our State and Commerce Departments should have done so little to make these simple truths clear to American public opinion.

The economic and financial features of our foreign policy are being handled by officials of varying schools of thought. One group is composed of exponents of the principles of the liberal trade policies of the nineteenth century. The theoretical validity of their beliefs is unimpeachable. But they do not seem to be aware of the fact that in a desperately sick world such as we now live in, the immediate application of these classic principles in their entirety may accentuate the ills from which the world's economy is suffering.

The rigidity of our negotiators was shown by the terms upon which they insisted when the original credit was granted to Great Britain. As the price of making that loan our negotiators demand that pounds be made freely convertible into dollars in all international transactions after one year, and that Britain should not reduce its imports from the United States without making proportionate reductions in its purchases from other countries.

Now, less than two years after our credit was extended, the United States has reluctantly been compelled to agree to suspend the operation of the terms exacted. But in return for this relaxation of the original terms, it froze the dollars still available to Britain under the credit, and this at the very moment when Britain has a deficit of \$2,800,000,000 in its balance is indispensable if the British are not to be

forced to use up the last small reserves they possess.

Our negotiators failed accurately to estimate the significance of the underlying factors in Britain's tragic crisis.

Britain is producing more for export and for its indispensable home consumption than ever before. Yet the British no longer possess their greatest source of dollars, the returns they received in prewar days from their investments in dollar countries. They are selling only 15 per cent of their exports to the dollar area, while 40 per cent of their imports have had to be bought within that area. At the same time, price inflation in the United States has reduced by one third the purchasing power which our \$3,750,000,000 credit possessed in this market at the time it was granted.

Under such conditions how can the United States expect Great Britain to apply the liberal trade principles of normal times? How can we expect to assist Great Britain to recovery through credits unless we allow it to sell to us a total approximately equal to what it buys from us?

Every nation of the world, including the United States, has been living beyond its means. The increased productive effort which the American people have been able successfully to make, safeguarded as they so far have been from the physical destruction resulting from war, has temporarily placed the United States in the position of being the one country which can still maintain its high standard of living and at the same time supply the essential needs of a great part of the rest of the world.

But this cannot continue indefinitely. Our seeming prosperity cannot last unless

the impoverished or ruined nations of the world are enabled speedily to increase their own production. No matter how many Marshall Plans may be devised, no matter how many theoretically unassailable principles may be written into the charter of the International Trade Organization, and no matter how much financial assistance the United States may be able for the time being to hand out to other peoples, increased production in the rest of the world can be achieved only, and can be maintained only, if the United States permits foreign countries to sell to the American consumer an amount equivalent in value to the goods they buy from the United States and to the money lent them by the United States.

This issue underlies every phase of our foreign policy. The objectives of our present policy are the strengthening of the United Nations, the prevention of the imperialistic expansion of the Soviet Union, and the political and social reconstruction of those nations whose economies the war has shattered, so that a peaceful and durable world order may at last be established.

If the American people permit the pressure groups in Washington who represent our subsidized interests so to dominate Congress as to force this country to pursue an economic policy similar to that followed during the years between 1921 and 1933, not one of these objectives in our foreign policy can be attained. The immense sacrifices which the American people made in the Second World War in life and in treasure would then have been made in vain. There could be no surer means of making the Third World War inevitable.

"Christian democracy cannot tolerate the discrimination that bars men from jobs and often prevents promotion. Christians must rise and cast out this modern expression of paganism, which blights progress and makes us suspect to three fourths of the world's people."—*From the report on The Church and Industrial Relations.*

Sanctuary

The Church in Our Economic Life *

Call to Worship:

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods. Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully."

These Things We Deeply Believe:

"Beloved, let us love one another: for love is of God: and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God: for God is love. Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."—*I John 4:7, 8; 3:16.*

"Love is the basis and the fundamental commandment for the fulfillment of life. It underlies our creation, and it is incomparably revealed to us in Jesus Christ. If men would love God they must also love their neighbors, who are likewise sons of God. Love of neighbor, not advantage over him, is the rule of the Christian life. Self-transcending love, not primary concern for one's self or one's possessions or one's security, is the fundamental law for man."

From the report of the Pittsburgh Conference on The Church and Economic Life, February, 1947.

Let us pray:

Almighty God, who hast so loved thy world that thou gavest thine only-begotten Son, forgive us our want of love for one another, the hardening of our hearts toward each other, the antagonisms which become the habits of our thought and action. Teach us, we pray, to be calm and patient with one another, confident that we shall find our common and highest good in thy fellowship and service. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, whom we reverence as our Master. Amen.



"Behold that which I have seen: it is good and comely for one to eat and to drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life, which God giveth him: and to take his portion, and to rejoice in his labour; thus is the gift of God."—*Eccles. 5:18, 19.*

"Through his work a man provides for himself and family and makes a major part of his contribution to society. A nation's spiritual, physical, and emotional health depends upon maximum employment. In an industrialized society, the right to work is of equal importance with the right to free speech, free assembly, and other free-

* Arranged by Paul Silas Heath, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Kalamazoo, Michigan, and member of the Counseling Committee on Social Education and Action.

doms. The problems of the postwar world will defy solution unless Christians concern themselves with the establishment of this right in economic theory and practice as a matter of public policy."

From the report on The Church and Industrial Relations, General Assembly, 1945.

"All men are members of a community under God, and the true community of the sons of God, foreshadowed on earth, is the challenge of the Gospel; God loves all men equally, whatever their color or estate and they are bound mutually together precisely because they are bound to Him."—*From the report on The Church and Economic Life.*

Let us pray:

O God, our Father, who hath made of one blood the men of all nations, forgive us the sins of our inhumanity to one another. In our pride and false superiority we have oppressed and exploited our fellow men and doomed their children to fear and frustration. Move our hearts to level these barriers of wickedness before it is too late and thy righteous judgments fall upon us in the mistrust and hatred of the multitudes of the earth, so that we may still claim the fellowship of our Lord in whose love are all thy children. Amen.



"Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. And let us not be weary in well doing; for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men. For we are everyone members one of another and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it."—Gal. 6: 2, 9, 10; I Cor. 12: 26.

"Now our civilization is on trial in its greatest crisis. We have to find our bearings, and help our neighbors to find their bearings, in a world far more interdependent than ever before. It requires an effort of imagination and will, a concentration upon realities and consequences, to break our way out of the prison walls of our narrow preoccupations and cultural prejudices, to meet the present challenge to our leadership. We Americans of this generation have a rendezvous with the world of tomorrow."—*From "The American Economy in a World Economy," in Information Service, December 6, 1947, Federal Council of Churches.*

Let us pray:

"O God, who to the slight warnings of particular troubles dost sometimes add the strong alarms of general tribulation: Awaken us thereby out of our lethargies, and rouse us up to an earnest preparation of ourselves for the service of thy Kingdom. And after that we shall have used all prudent means for delivering ourselves from our present distresses, may we without fear commend ourselves into thy hand, who art the only rest of all laboring and heavy laden souls." Amen.—John Austin, 17th Century; quoted by Dr. Sperry in Prayers for Private Devotions in War-Time.

Benediction:

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Amen.

Does the Church Reach the Laymen?

(Continued from page 9)

tirement I worked within my own denomination to increase the security of ministers in the lower salary brackets. I found an almost complete indifference on the part of higher-salaried ministers toward their underpaid brothers in the same denomination. My attempts to set up minimum salaries, to facilitate transfers between pastorates, and in other ways improve the lot of the low-paid ministers and their families were obstructed by ministers in large Churches, with big salaries and secure positions. In the shops, high-salaried men and sweepers receive equal protection; all alike have the help of shop stewards and grievance committees.

In shops and among ministers of my denomination reputations are destroyed by whispered slanders and secret wirepulling. The ministers have developed the greater finesse. A minister who is notorious for his bitter attacks upon his brother ministers can preach on brotherly love, and none of his brother ministers seem to notice the incongruity.

In shops and ministry alike, promotions are sought after. In both there are men who adopt the let-the-best-man-win attitude. In both there are those who undermine the reputations of competitors, belittling their abilities. In both there are "eager beavers" who put on bursts of speed when the higher-ups come around and who flatter their way to better jobs. But among the ministers of my denomination no protection is provided against slanderous attacks and against unfair promotions. In the shops complaints can be made to shop stewards, grievance committees, and to general meetings of the local to which the men belong.

Christianity was born in persecution and martyrdom. The prophets and martyrs are kept before the Church in hymns, Scripture, and exhortation. Labor unions were

also born in persecution, and among the earliest unionists jail and death were commonplace. Few ministers of my acquaintance have gone to jail or have been beaten up or have lost their jobs for their religion. A very few have suffered and faced hardship for fighting drink and for their interpretations of Scripture. In small cities where I have been pastor it is an unpardonable sin to antagonize influential families on any account.

In every shop in which I have worked there have been men who have walked the picket lines, at times in winter. Some have lost their jobs for standing against injustice of bosses. Many have lost money in strikes. Every shop steward who defends his buddies against the foreman knows that his boss can and probably will take revenge after the steward's term of office has ended. Three inspectors in one of my locals lost their jobs and income rather than pass defective war material in 1944.

Conclusions

1. If the Church has influenced or is influencing the layman and industry, the extent of its influence is infinitesimal.

2. The Church must invent techniques by which it can measure the results of its work. It can, of course, measure advance in Scriptural knowledge and in theology. Now it must learn to measure its members' advancement in justice and mercy and humility before God.

3. I think that the failure of the Church to influence contemporary life is due to its withdrawal. Its pastors for centuries have been withdrawn from the world in which the layman lives and works.

4. When Church and State were separated, and when religion was separated from business, science, and education, the Church was throwing away its chances to help society. It was also throwing out all the causes of martyrdom. If and when the Church enters once more the world of the layman, the fires of persecution will once more be lighted.

One Year Later: A Report

(Continued from page 12)

ing. These include, among others, the pressure of the rising cost of living ("prices have gone up 24 per cent, average weekly wages only 18 per cent in the last 18 months"), housing, increased over-all corporation profits ("from 4 to over 17 billions since 1944"), and recent labor legislation. Speaking again in broad generalizations, my impression is that these are the center of interest in labor. What is the responsibility of Church people toward these current economic factors that are of immediate consequence to basic individual and family well-being?

In connection with these major themes the role of government has been discussed at length and also their bearing upon the place and responsibility of the United States in the international crisis. Where delegates who are active in the consumer co-operative movement are present much tends to be made of the threat both to freedom and to economic well-being that lies in monopoly.

The active interests of those who make up what might be called the non-industrial public seem to be about evenly distributed between the two major themes. They are deeply disturbed over the dangerous divisiveness in industrial relations and, at the same time, they are troubled by major trends in today's economic life.

The roles of the economists and the clergymen have much in common although each comes at the problem from a different approach. Where an issue of situation tends to be viewed in terms of partisanship, the economists help by bringing the subject to a more objective level on its factual basis. Similarly, the clergymen, by their at times more informed and sensitive religious and ethical perspective, bring a discussion carried on largely in terms of conflicting parti-

san interests to the deeper level of social justice and brotherhood.

4. *What about the place of labor in the Churches?* There seems to be a double answer. On the credit side, a number of Church people who are also members and leaders of labor unions occupy an accepted place in the co-operative life of the Churches. They have been members of the committees to which the holding of such conferences have been originally referred. In most every instance they have sat in on the planning of conferences from the ground up. Their contribution has been recognized, sought after, and highly appreciated.

But on the other side it must be noted that their number has been little more than a handful. By conscientious effort the Churches have added to this number when conference time came around, but with only a small increase. With possibly a single exception the disparity between the number of delegates who are members or officers of labor unions and those who are in industry and business has been striking. Whatever may be the explanations for this situation, the fact itself stands out.

Turning from reporting, I would offer three observations for consideration and discussion. They are drawn from a wider range than just these recent conferences. (1) To a marked degree the Protestant Churches have lost contact with wage earners, perhaps especially with those who seek to help themselves through labor organizations. (2) Within the Protestant Churches there are still far more members and leaders of labor unions than the Churches themselves are aware of. (3) Many of the conventional lines which the thinking and activity of the Churches follow blind them to the contribution which members and leaders of labor unions could make as individual Christians and Church members.

World Order

Lenten Appeal for European Aid *

The Christian Churches of Asia and Europe are still struggling against odds to rise from the ruins of war in this the third spring after the beginning of peace.

This disturbing fact is of special concern to the Church people of America. If Christianity loses the struggle for survival in the former embattled areas, it will no longer be counted as a spiritual force in the twentieth-century world, holding out to searching people a high ideal and a better way of life.

The Gospel of Christ must never be in retreat. It should be a vital force, surging into the lives of men everywhere.

To aid in the reconstruction of Church life overseas is the unique responsibility of the American Church people, and Easter offers them a unique opportunity to share in this responsibility. The Protestant and Orthodox Churches co-operating in this overseas task are again sponsoring a Lenten appeal. Their aid will be co-operatively administered and co-ordinated through their agency, Church World Service.**

The appeal presents Americans with an appropriate way in which to observe Lent. By denying ourselves certain luxuries and so-called "necessities," we can make a significant contribution through our Churches. Our gifts will go a long way in helping the Churches abroad to rise again to serve in a great revival of religious life and work which is fundamental to the recovery of Europe and Asia.

* By Dr. A. Livingston Warnshius, Executive Vice-President, Church World Service.

** Church World Service is an agency approved by our General Assembly for the channelling of special relief gifts for Europe and Asia. It is constituted by the Federal Council of Churches, the American Committee for World Council of Churches, and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. In 1947, Church World Service sent \$14,500,000 in funds and relief commodities to Europe and Asia.

To be specific, these gifts mean that ministers and Church leaders will receive that "extra" help—salary supplements, books, bicycles, rest retreats—that enables them to carry on their heavy work. Laymen will be trained in lay schools for Christian service in their stricken communities, where leadership is needed as badly as shoes or shelter. Church operated camps for young people will get funds with which to continue their work of teaching youth to live the highest principles of the Master, and to set an inspiring example by their lives. The physical and spiritual needs of displaced people and refugees will be met, and many, many of the sick, orphaned, and aged will receive the ministry they so terribly need.

But this service from America is totally dependent on the willingness of Americans to respond to the need and give through the Church channels at their command. Individual Churches throughout the country will be active in placing the Lenten appeal before their constituencies. In most United States cities, Councils of Churches and interdenominational women's and young people's groups plan to co-operate. Almost every Christian in this country, regardless of his communion, will be and must be afforded a chance to participate.

The Lenten appeal, which climaxes Easter Sunday, is only one phase of the 1948 plans of the Churches to send \$24,000.00 in funds and supplies overseas through C.W.S. But it is a very distinct phase. For there is no date on the calendar so full of Christian meaning as Easter. The day itself and the Lenten season preceding symbolize the rebirth of spirit that follows a long period of sacrifice and suffering. In Europe and Asia people have certainly suffered and sacrificed. They are ready for a spiritual revival, and they have the will to rebuild, but they lack the resources that America can supply. As Americans, we

must make telling sacrifices now, if we hope to avoid suffering in the future beyond anything we have known.

The United Nations

The United Nations Assembly met in New York from September 16 to November 29, 1947. A number of the principal developments of that historic meeting were reviewed in the February, 1948, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. Following is a review of several decisions and actions not included in last month's summary.

Security Council: The problem of Security Council veto was referred to the newly constituted Little Assembly for study in consultation with a committee which the Security Council may designate, a report to be made by next July 15. Also, permanent members of the Council were asked to consult on measures to insure "prompt and effective exercise" of the Council's functions.

Marshall Plan: Implied criticism of the European Recovery Program was deleted in committee from a Polish-sponsored resolution that would have called on member nations to shun any machinery established outside of the UN for dealing with international economic problems.

Trade-Union Rights: The Assembly endorsed principles proclaimed by the International Labor Conference, transmitted the report of ILO to the Commission on Human Rights for study in preparation of a bill of human rights, and urges ILO to pursue, in collaboration with the UN, the practical application of the principles through international safeguarding of trade-union rights and freedom of association.

Children's Fund: Members were invited to supply immediate aid to the International Children's Emergency Fund for relief of youthful war victims. The appeal was commended to all peoples.

Specialized Agencies: Agreements were approved bringing the World Bank, Stabilization Fund, the World Health Or-

ganization, International Telecommunications Union into relation with UN as specialized agencies.

Law Codification: The Assembly decided to establish at its next session an international law commission to work for the progressive development of international law and its eventual codification with members representing the chief forms of civilization and basic legal systems of the world. A statute was prepared to govern the commission.

International Court: Wider use of the court was urged. The Assembly overrode a Soviet objection that use of the court for interpretation of the charter would produce a tendency to interpret all political issues from a legal standpoint and result in substituting the court for the Security Council.

Headquarters: Plans for new office and conference buildings on the East River site in Manhattan were approved by acclamation, together with the United States offer to lend, interest free, \$65,000,000 for building costs, the loan to be repaid over a 30-year period in annual installments to begin in 1951.

Europe in 1948: A Swedish-French resolution was adopted to hold next year's assembly in Europe, additional cost to approximate \$1,000,000. The place is to be selected by the Secretary General with the advice of a special committee. Paris is favored.

UN Telecommunications: The Secretary General was authorized to take steps preliminary to negotiating for wave lengths, call signs, and rights and privileges necessary for the operation of a UN telecommunications system, and to look into possibilities of a UN postal system.

United Nations Flag: A light blue banner bearing the UN insigne in white was adopted as the official flag.

UN Peace Day: International observance of Oct. 24, the anniversary of the charter ratification, as United Nations Peace Day was recommended.

Christian Citizenship

Minimum Wage

The General Assembly in May, 1946, passed its pronouncements while a nationwide rail strike was in progress. The following sentence is worthy of special note today: "The Christian should bring perspective and poise to the shifting and often emotionally charged industrial situation."

As early as 1910, the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., advocated "a living wage as an irreducible minimum," and as late as 1947, the Church position is, "Raise the national minimum wage level."

In the 80th Congress a bill was introduced by Congressional leaders, upon their own initiative, not at the request of labor—a bill to raise the minimum wage. Several bills were entered. There is now a general move to revise the present wage-hour provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Hearings have now closed in the House. The Senate Labor and Public Welfare will hold hearings in March. There is considerable sentiment to raise the 40-cent per hour minimum to 65 cents and, at the same time, increase the 40-hour week to 44 hours. The present law does not prohibit workers from working more than 40 hours per week, but does require time and a half for overtime.

To apply this proposal to a worker with present-day figures, the following points should be considered: Present straight-time hourly earnings in manufacturing average \$1.21 per hour. A 44-hour week, with time and one half for all hours over 40, yields a week in earnings of \$55.66. Suppose, however, the 40-hour law was raised to 44, and the same wage applied. The worker would get \$53.24, a reduction of \$2.42. It is not the 40-hour week that is causing bottlenecks in production in mass industry; it is shortage and bottlenecks in materials.

Now the wage question: The present

minimum of 40 cents an hour provides \$16 per week for 40 hours. One proposal calls for 75 cents an hour; this would give the worker \$30 for a 40-hour week. The Department of Labor's minimum budget for a family of four ranges between \$3,000 and \$3,500 per year. A full year's work at 75 cents an hour gives the worker \$1,560.

Persons wishing to express themselves on this issue should address Honorable Robert A. Taft, Chairman, Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and Honorable Samuel K. McConnell, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee, Education and Labor, House, both Washington, D. C.

Housing

A plea for slum clearance has been made by the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., regularly since 1910. In 1947, the General Assembly went on record as "urging that the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill be reported out of committee immediately and passed" (S.866).

In spite of hearings being held all over the country, at which those who make personal gain from housing testified against public housing, and many times more people representing citizens, civic groups, and veterans testified for public housing and for S.866, the Joint Housing Committee now insists their duty is to write a new bill. Persons wishing to be fully informed on the activities of that committee should write to the National Public Housing Conference, Inc., 1015 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., and ask to be put on their mailing list.

The forecast at present is that nothing less than a revolt of citizens will result in the passage of S. 866. Honorable Ralph A. Gamble (N. Y.) is chairman of the Joint Committee on Housing, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Universal Military Training (H.R. 4278)

Continue to express appreciation to the House Rules Committee, Leo E. Allen, Chairman, for refusing to list this bill for house passage. (See section on budget.)

Budget: High Lights

Total budget askings of President, approximately 40 billion dollars.	
National Defense	11 billion
Department of State	180 million
International Refugee Organization	71 million
Membership in International Organizations (UN)	58 million
Social Welfare and Health	2 billion
Housing and Community Facilities	38 million
Education and General Research (<i>296 million of which is proposed legislation</i>)	387 million
European Recovery Program (<i>1949 only</i>)	4 billion

European Recovery Program

"We believe that it is the will of God that the hungry be fed, the naked clothed, the homeless sheltered." (General Assembly, 1947.) The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches says of the European Recovery Plan: "It can be one of history's most momentous affirmations of faith in the curative power of freedom and in the creative capacities of free men."

This plan is a material investment that can result in speedy release of the moral and spiritual resources of our day. It is an economic plan, and should not be confused with political issues. It is an opportunity for the United States to share of its abundance in the spirit of love. If any other motive creeps in, it is doomed to failure.

The implementation of E.R.P. need not dull our sense to the needs of other peoples in other areas. All peoples are of concern to us. The United Nations is the agency best suited to meet these needs. Certain UN resources are being utilized in E.R.P.

Ask your pastor to let you read the statement of the Federal Council of Churches on the Churches and the European Recovery Program. This is a historic moment for creative, unselfish action.

The sacrifices which the American people are called upon to make are often overstated, but for the Christian, in his concern for world needs, they are without meaning in today's issue.

Write your own Congressman! (The best objective economic statement on E.R.P. may be secured from the League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C. 20 cents.)

Membership of Congressional Committees

Copies of the membership of all Senate and House committees may be secured, without charge, by writing to the Secretary of the Senate for the Senate list and to the Clerk of the House of Representatives for the House list. The address is the same for both: Washington 25, D. C.

Use of Grain by Distillers

On January 27, the House Banking and Currency Committee on Grain Allotment voted 12 to 9 against passage of stop-gap legislation to further extend the restriction on the use of grain for distillers. The distillers claim they use small quantities of wheat, that their major need is corn. There is a relationship between corn and wheat. If farmers sell grain in a favorable market, wheat must be fed to stock. Write your own Congressman.

Workshop

Religion in the Labor Movement.

In the official ritual of the Oil Workers International Union, CIO, there is a prayer that is at once a statement of purpose and a program of action. At all regular meetings, the president of each of the approximately 300 local unions offers this prayer, usually from memory, immediately following the pledge of allegiance to the flag:

"O God of liberty and justice, consecrate the deliberations of this body to the achievement of the common good.

"Clothed in the dignity of labor and bearing the banner of freedom, may we go forth from this meeting blessed with unity of purpose and action.

"Guide us by Thy infinite wisdom to work with all our might to accomplish the objectives of peace and the brotherhood of man.

"For this we pray. Amen."

In the OWIU there are 100,000 members. About 5,000 are Negroes, most of them from the locals on the Gulf Coast. The union embraces workers of all creeds and colors—rig builders and drillers in the boom areas, stillmen and yardmen in the refineries, and linewalkers on the pipelines.

A Realistic Definition. The Wabash Avenue Presbyterian Church of Crawfordsville, Indiana, Dr. Rudolph G. Riemann, pastor, makes a practical and realistic interpretation of Christian social action. In a recent issue of the monthly Church bulletin appeared this definition:

"What is Social Education and Action?

"It is you and your Church helping to work out the social problems in your community from a Christian point of view.

"It is the application of the teachings of Christ to today's problems.

"It is proving by your attitude that dis-

crimination on the basis of race, creed, or color is undemocratic and unchristian.

"It is every American realizing the responsibility of his privilege to vote. Learn the type of men who will govern your town, state, and nation.

"It is your Church giving intelligent support to the United Nations which can be the instrument for bringing about international co-operation and world order. Our nation, having first used the atomic bomb, has a moral obligation to reverse the trend to fear and distrust which it began.

"It is sending food and clothing to distressed peoples everywhere through United Church Service, New Windsor, Maryland.

"It is sending a heifer to Europe to increase the herds in order that starving babies may have milk.

"It is adopting a Chinese baby to feed and clothe for one year.

"It is an individual or group promoting a long-range program of alcohol education designed to give complete understanding of the facts of alcohol.

"It is writing your Congressmen protesting universal military training.

"It is urging your movie manager to improve the quality of movies shown.

"It is conducting a survey of local social conditions with the aid of your welfare workers.

"It is Christianity in action."

General Assembly, the highest authority in the Presbyterian Church, appoints the standing committee on Social Education and Action, draws up the suggested pronouncements, and officially adopts them. It decides each year what subjects must have the most emphasis. For 1947-1948 Social Education and Action emphasizes world order in the atomic age, racial and cultural relations, the economic order, alcohol beverages, government and citizenship, and building a better community.

Local option. During 1947, local option elections were held in seventeen states, in 1,689 political units (counties, townships, precincts, etc.).

201 dry units voted to remain dry.

220 wet units voted to remain wet.

239 wet units voted dry.

26 dry units voted wet.

Of the units whose previous status is not known to be either dry or wet—

606 voted dry.

449 voted wet.

In Kentucky, known as a heavy whisky producing state, local option has progressed to the point where 93 out of 120 counties are now dry, and 64 per cent of the people of the state now live in dry territory.

Park College. An enthusiastic student body listened to advocates of the Republican, Democratic, and Socialist platforms as the 1948 national political campaign got under way in a meeting held recently in the chapel. At the close of the meeting, ballots were cast with the following results: 155 endorsed the Republican platform and would attend meetings of the local Young Republican chapter; 130 would support the platform and program of the Young Democrats, and 39 chose to support the work of the Young Socialists. In this way, and by many other methods, Park College is helping its students and graduates to combine high ideals with political maturity.

Local Committee for E.R.P. The following notice of the formation of the National Committee for the Marshall Plan to Aid European Recovery, headed by Henry L. Stimson, interested citizens of Stamford, Connecticut. They called together a widely representative committee of leaders from Churches, business houses, schools, and civic organizations. A local committee for the Marshall Plan was organized and an intensive campaign launched to stimulate interest in and sup-

port for the European Recovery Plan proposed by Secretary of State Marshall. A reporter for the group says, "What we have done can easily be duplicated in any community."

New Jersey Synod Proposals. At the fall meeting of the Synod of New Jersey, the following timely recommendations were adopted:

1. That synod advise every Church and minister of the necessity of expert pre-marital conferences as an insurance against broken homes and divorce.

2. That synod commend the principle of the Capper bill for the control of interstate liquor advertising, and that synod request the New Jersey Christian Conference on Legislation to prepare and have introduced in the next State legislature, legislation for the control of liquor advertising within the State of New Jersey.

3. (a) That synod join the Essex County Council of the Division Against Discrimination in asking the State Council to prepare and have introduced in the next State legislature, legislation barring discrimination in the business schools of New Jersey, and

(b) That synod express its appreciation to the State Council for its present survey of the employment practices concerning hiring of members of minority groups by the department stores of Essex County.

4. That synod affirm its opposition to the establishment of compulsory military training during peace time and that a statement of that opposition be sent to the New Jersey Senators and Representatives in U. S. Congress.

5. That synod request the New Jersey Christian Conference on Legislation to prepare and have introduced in the next State legislature a bill or bills establishing a uniform closing hour, from midnight to 7:00 A.M. weekdays for places dispensing alcoholic beverages, and closing all the aforesaid places on the Lord's Day.

It Has Happened—in Chico

(Continued from page 19)

in town was serving as the chairman. We were told that the slate was clear—no textbook had been chosen. Our task was to advise on building the course outline, and to recommend the choice of textbook. We had spent many hours of labor in doing our work. Before our task was completed, the furor over the investigation had broken and it was impossible to carry out our assignment, and now the course has been dropped from the curriculum.

The first finding states that "the books under examination are pornographic in content, immoral in many respects, and totally unfit for high-school students."⁷ With this finding most people agreed. It seems to me that the burden of proof rests upon the committee to prove that they were being used as texts—not that they were used "only very temporarily." The fact is, the books had been removed from all consideration.

The seventh finding states that "the evidence leaves no doubt whatsoever as to the determined attempts of some person or group of persons, whose names are unknown to the committee, to establish the course known as 'Basic 12.'"⁸

Is it possible that a fact-finding group could make such a statement as that? Who is this "person or group of persons" that is guilty of "subtle and persistent pressure" for the teaching of the course as planned? If they can be found, and I'm sure they cannot, are we certain that they are Communists?

The ninth finding is the most insidious of all. It reads: "The Chico incident is not an isolated one; the committee is in possession of sufficient facts to indicate an over-all pattern. The presence of Carey McWilliams in Chico at or about the time of the inception of Basic 12 is a fact that the committee is not overlooking."⁹

⁷ Third Report, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

Here is an insinuation made against a man who was not called at any time during the investigation to defend himself. It is against all principles of American democracy to judge a man guilty without such a privilege of defense, even if, as the chairman said, "he belongs to some twenty-five Communist front organizations."

This investigation and controversy has left a deep, open wound in the life of the community. Several of our fine school people have resigned or have been removed from office. At the school board election it was most difficult to get outstanding community leaders to run for the office.

The California Synod, through the recommendation of its Committee on Social Education and Action, took a very wise stand when it adopted the report which in part said: "As Presbyterians we unite in rejecting social philosophies which deny the principles of Christ.

"Certainly we condemn the fascist philosophies which have wrought such havoc in recent years. We equally repudiate the philosophy of modern Communist parties which put party policies above all other principles.

"In this connection, we view with alarm any attempt to cast suspicion upon individuals or groups as being 'communistic,' 'fascistic,' or 'subversive,' without right to defense or trial. Therefore this Synod believes that the methods of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities of the California Legislature, known as the Tenney Committee, are undemocratic in their procedures."¹⁰

Yes, it has happened in Chico! I have witnessed it with my own eyes, . . . and these things are written that the Church might be aware of the threat to American principles at the very hands of those who seek to protect them. Let us have investigations where they are necessary, but such investigations must not deny the principles they seek to defend.

¹⁰ Report of Committee on Social Education and Action, Synod of California and Nevada, July 24-30, 1947.

About Books

Some Notes on the Alcohol Problem,
by Deets Pickett. Abingdon-Cokesbury
Press. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

The author of this excellent handbook is the editor of the widely used *Clipsheet* of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Church. Dr. Pickett is competent to prepare a reliable compendium of information on the alcohol problem.

The book has only 126 pages, but it is fairly comprehensive. Some of the chapter headings indicate the scope of the material presented: "Alcohol, What It Is, and Its Effect on Man"; "The Temperance Movement, Yesterday and Today"; "Why Do Men and Women Drink"; "Where We Find the Drink Problem"; "The Problem of the Excessive Drinker"; "The Liquor Institution"; "The Truth About Prohibition"; "How Repeal Came and Its Results"; "Drink and the Christian Family"; "The Liquor Traffic and Realism."

The closing chapter of the book, "Eyes That See Not," is the text of an address delivered by Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker at a Chicago conference in 1947 that launched the New Temperance Advance Movement of the Methodist Church.

The chief attraction of this little volume is the wealth of information it presents on every phase of the alcohol problem. Data from a variety of trustworthy sources are employed to make Dr. Pickett's discussion of the alcohol problem factual and objective. In only one or two minor instances does he appear to overdraw a conclusion. The usefulness of the manual is limited by the absence of a suitable index.

As a compendium of reliable information, wise insights, and helpful observations on the problem of beverage alcohol, this volume will be useful to ministers, Sunday School teachers, youth workers, and others who carry leadership responsibilities in our Churches.

CLIFFORD EARLE

World Christianity, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow, by Henry P. Van Dusen. Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. \$2.50.

Any book by Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, president of the Union Theological Seminary, is welcome, and this one, dealing with one of the crucial issues facing the Christian Church, is doubly welcome.

Dr. Van Dusen takes as his theme that either mankind will go forward to an order finer, truer, and more worthy of human possibilities than any previously achieved, or we shall go down to a lower level of human existence than the world has ever known.

Starting with the fact that the Christian Church has been "rediscovered" by many in recent years to be the one indomitable, invincible champion of human rights, the one omnipresent ministrant to human need, and the one indestructible world community, he documents his statement by marshaling many undeniable evidences. Then he peers behind the curtain that separates yesterday from today, and surveys the development of the missionary enterprise and the world Christian community.

The remainder of the book, which is the larger portion, deals with Christian unity. He believes that future historians will look back to the organization of the World Council of Churches as the most significant event of the twentieth century. Dr. Van Dusen points out that while the mind of the Christian Church has affirmed the ideal of unity, the life of the Churches has been marked by a steady succession of divisions and schisms. He believes, however, that we are moving toward unity more now than ever before.

The Christian Church, says Dr. Van Dusen, has emerged from the war with greater strength in its inner reality and vitality than ever before, and more widely respected in the eyes of men. It faces the greatest challenge in its entire history.

"Less than 3 per cent of all persons dwelling in lands which harbor three fifths of the earth's population are being even touched by Catholic and Protestant Churches combined."

If the Church is to meet its opportunity, it is imperative that Christian unity be achieved. "It is a simple matter of fact that Christian missions cannot begin to meet any of the urgent practical tasks ahead except through a unified strategy and united mustering and deployment of all available resources."

Chapter Eight presents an analysis of faith, worship, sacraments, polity, and orders. The final chapter, dealing with revival and reunion, states the necessary spiritual rebirth the Church of today must experience if it is to be the instrument which the living Spirit of God might find adequate to his purpose.

GORDON W. MATTICE

The Invisible Encounter, by Igor I. Sikorsky. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

The Invisible Encounter is very interesting and provocative reading. The author's exposition of the temptation of Christ in the wilderness is certainly good "theology" and quite original. Reading between the lines, one detects that the author believes that Christendom has frequently given in to the worldly idea of power and progress which Satan suggested to Jesus.

The author, being Russian, quotes from a number of eminent Russian writers whose analysis of men and their times is very keen. But it seems to me that the Russian mind tends to pessimism too easily. It seems to me too that the author shows a tendency to follow what we know as dispensationalism. Nevertheless, his view of the power of evil is in line with much Biblical interpretation today.

"Radical materialism" is the term the author uses to express the deep inner dislocation in the moral and spiritual life of the nations today, and he cites the Rus-

sian ideology (of man as the tool of the state) as heading up the conflict against the Christian concept of man. And he vividly illustrates from world conditions how these two opposing ideologies are now in sharper conflict than ever before. Modern thought, which is basically humanistic, rejects (he says, and who can deny it?) "the value of individual life and spiritual personality in favor" of the belief that man can order his world without God—the essential lie of Satan the "father of lies"—as if spiritually dead men could win for mankind that golden age which ever has been the dream of men. Thus one gathers that the author considers the UN idea as being definitely Satan-inspired, that if the UN does not become controlled by spiritual wisdom it will eventually bring about a world state headed by a dictator (Antichrist); and that this world tyranny would not last long, but would be crushed by a rebellion of desperate violence.

The author does rightly show that true Christianity has greatly mitigated the power of evil in the past, and that today Christian leaders see the issue more clearly than ever. But I feel he is too pessimistic as to the future. "The world can be saved only by a forceful ideological orientation" . . . as if he himself falls into the humanistic error of man's ability to save the world. In the beginning of the book, the author strikingly tells how Christ rejected the "Faustian" concept of civilization, and how Christ's way is the only way out; but his conclusion denies the possibility of that way: "If humanity insists on following the present evil trends, then the process" will be fatal; "all that would be left for men to realize would be to face the inevitable outcome with dignity and courage." There is no comfort in that. What a hopeless "gospel"! What pessimism! I don't suppose the author meant to end on such a hopeless note. Anyhow, here is a book that ought to be read widely. And it is not too technical for the laymen.

EDWIN L. SHELLING

Adversary in the House, by Irving Stone. Doubleday & Company, Inc. \$3.00.

This is a biographical novel dealing with the life of Eugene V. Debs, written plainly yet dramatically. Mr. Stone portrays Debs as an idealist who, although professing no particular religious creed, adhered all his life to one of the first teachings of Jesus, that all men are brothers.

His determination to better the working conditions of his fellow men and his passionate devotion to this cause cost him the love and companionship of the woman who best understood and loved him. Some years later he married a willful and selfish woman who could never share his enthusiasms nor understand his love of humanity. She was the adversary in the house.

His experience as a railroad worker, confronted with the handicaps under which the men had to work, first awakened his interest in unionization. He eventually organized and became president of the American Railway Union and gradually, through years of effort, saw some of his dreams of a higher standard of living for the workingman come true. At one period, on trumped-up charges, he was sent to jail for six months.

It was while confined to jail that he was first introduced to Socialism through a visit of Victor Berger who brought him several Socialist volumes to read. For years after his release he worked to build up a socialist party but was met with defeat time and time again, sometimes from within the group that he tried most to serve and always by the lack of understanding in his own home.

Five times he was a Presidential candidate, the last time in 1920 when he polled nearly 1,000,000 votes. Much of the time during these years was spent as a lecturer and organizer in the Socialist movement. On a charge of treason, Debs was committed to Atlanta Penitentiary where, because of his affability and continued devotion to a policy of nonviolence, he earned the admiration of jailed and jailers alike.

This volume, aside from giving an excellent account of the life of a man, gives also an insight into our national life and history during the years at the turn of the last century. Mr. Stone has done a thorough job, and the book is worthy of careful reading.

MARGARET LOCKWOOD

Last Chance in China, by Freda Utley, The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50.

This provocative book is an argument for all-out aid to the Chiang Kai-shek regime in China as a means of saving Asia from Communism. Soviet Russia, the author is convinced, has stepped into Japan's shoes in Asia and has assumed the "divine mission" of keeping China disunited and powerless, thus converting her eventually into a satellite. Although admitting that the program of the Chinese Communists differs from that of other lands, the author emphasizes that leaders of the movement consistently follow the Soviet party line and that therefore to make Kuomintang and Communist co-operation a basis for American aid would be to open the way for ultimate Communist control, according to the pattern now familiar in eastern Europe.

Miss Utley advocates the policies attached to the names of former Ambassador Patrick Hurley, Lieutenant General Wedermeyer, Congressman Walter Judd, and William Bullitt. She names names in dealing with the liberal group of Americans who support the Chinese Reds, and her treatment of them shows traces at times of a certain lack of objectivity. Although admitting the existence of corruption within the Kuomintang and weaknesses and defects in the Generalissimo himself, she is willing to forgive anything done by the great leader.

This reviewer has followed closely the controversy between the two groups in question and believes that the truth lies with the cause Miss Utley has espoused. At the same time it is difficult to follow her all the way. The book is written against

the background of the author's three trips to China, the first in 1928 before she had renounced Communism. Many of the problems outlined and arguments advanced arise from her own tragic experiences in Russia and as a result carry such heavy emotional content as to confuse and weaken her position.

WILLIS LAMOTT

Employees Are People, by Harry King Tootle. McGraw-Hill. \$3.50.

Although this is really a textbook covering the entire field of personnel administration for executives, employees, and supervisors who are interested in business in terms of "the human relationships which make it function," nevertheless, it has a great deal of basic common sense in it and a tremendous amount of implicit Christian doctrine.

Mr. Tootle is the personnel director for *The New York Times*, and he wrote this book for the McGraw-Hill Industrial Organization and Management Series because there was no existing volume that covered the ground in nontechnical terms.

The author tells the business world that the time has ceased to be when employers may look upon employees as hands. They can and must be regarded as people, human beings, with the same desire for security and the same basic needs as those who hire them. Labor unions, avers Mr. Tootle, are here to stay, and the employer who tries to ignore, fight, or curse them out of existence is wasting his time.

I like what the author has to say to other personnel directors. "Have a religious attitude toward your work. If not that, have a high ethical philosophy that is as near an approach to the spiritual as possible."

I am afraid that the book will not have a wide reading because of its obvious textbook format and typography. It is so well written and so understandable that it is too bad that it is decked out like a classroom appendage.

THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON

Back Home, by Bill Mauldin. William Sloane Associates, Inc. \$3.50.

The famous war cartoonist for *Yank* and the *Stars and Stripes*, whose cartoons were read by the soldiers when they read nothing else and who became a court jester to the brass hats, turns his wit and barb to the America he finds when he comes home.

He does not like many aspects of the America he finds but, unlike many of the rest of us, he is not afraid of puncturing such sacred cows as the American Legion, entrenched and intolerant religion, white supremacy, the Un-American Activities Committee, traditional Red baiters and party line parrots. In a day when the epithet "fellow traveler" is shaking the courage of many a liberal, this youthful G.I. voice speaks out with impassioned wrath shafted with the truly wounding point of humor.

Bill Mauldin became the voice of the soldier. It is too early yet to say whether he is the voice of the veteran, but if he speaks for any large number of them, the country is in a better condition than many think.

The book does not claim to be great literature, but it is good reading. The captions for the drawings are occasionally rough in language, but when the reader finishes the book, he is left with the wish that there were more Bill Mauldins in the world.

S. EDWARD YOUNG

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The Military Move In

By Hanson W. Baldwin *

SOME wise man once wrote that each victorious war costs us a few more of our liberties. Not only does the Government, like an octopus, draw to itself during war extensive new powers, many of which are not repealed when peace comes, but the great emotional upsurge of victory inevitably has the double effect of carrying to new positions of authority the military architects of victory, and encouraging in the rest of us dreams of an expanded "manifest destiny" for our country.

Most of us are pretty familiar with the extent to which the military now sit in positions of American civil authority. Of course there is nothing insidious in this, *per se*. It is a natural consequence of a victorious war—a public acknowledgment of the debt due these men by a grateful nation, and a tribute to the type of men developed by the armed services and to the orderly administrative qualities of the military mind. Most of the men mentioned are good public servants; many of them are exceptional. Collectively, however, they represent a pattern; they have in common the habit of command and discipline and the mental outlook of years of military training—a tendency to apply in their thinking

the yardstick of physical power. It is a pattern to be watched.

Military Foreign Policy

Less widely noted, perhaps, has been the extent to which the military influence has already affected our postwar policies. For example, though we frequently stated during the war that we had no territorial or expansionist ambitions, when peace came we virtually annexed the former Japanese-mandated islands. Our proposal to the United Nations was in the form of a "take it or leave it" notice; we must have a trusteeship validated by the UN or we would "withdraw" our offer—in other words, we would keep the islands anyway. Aside from the fact that it would be difficult to prove the strategic importance to us of *all* the Marshalls, Carolines, and Marianas, since our only potential enemy would seem to be Russia, far to the north, our contention that we must have a most-favored-nation position and be able to prohibit UN inspection visits to the islands certainly weakened our valid opposition to similar Russian privileges in eastern Europe. We did not even have the grace to link up our policy in the mandates to a Japanese peace treaty. And now the drums are being beaten for Okinawa; we are being asked,

* Military analyst of *The New York Times*. From *Harper's*, December, 1947. Used with permission.

with maudlin emotionalism, whether the bodies of our boys who died to take that island are to lie in foreign soil—as if such reasoning would have appealed to those who died there! These policies in the Pacific—and the MacArthur unilateral policy in Japan—are definitely the product of military influence. A group in the State Department fought, unsuccessfully, the mandated islands policy; others have sought to curb MacArthur, but with singular lack of effect.

The citizens of the United States are confronted with a paradox of frightful mien. Total war means the direction of every phase of the national life to the end of military victory. And preparation for it in time of peace may mean—if the preparations are pushed to full effectiveness—the direction of every phase of national life toward the maintenance of military strength. That might well mean the establishment of a “garrison state” and the destruction of the very qualities and virtues and principles which we originally set about to save.

Technological Warfare

It is well for us to realize that this danger is not simply the result of the atomic bomb. Even if the atomic bomb could somehow be removed from the arsenal of technological horrors, its companion exhibits in that arsenal would still confront us with the twin dangers of regimenta-

tion or death. Transoceanic missiles, radio-active dust, new gasses a thousand times more toxic than the German *Tabun* series, which outmoded all prewar concepts; biological agents, long-range submersibles—these have revolutionized warfare to an extent that most of us are totally unable to grasp. And even if these weapons were not available, even if the technological revolution had not altered the whole meaning of war and the nature of our world, the same basic paradox would confuse our civilization, so long as the concept of total war, a concept seemingly indissolubly associated with our times, governs the making of war and the preparations for it. For implicit in the idea of total war is the harnessing of every form of national power to one end—military strength.

I believe there is a middle way. I believe that a reasonably adequate preparation for emergency—even atomic emergency—and a reasonable increase in our military efficiency can be achieved without sacrifice of our democracy. But I am also sure that this cannot be done without complete and assured civilian control of these military preparations.

That is why the present trend is dangerous to our past concepts of the American way of life. The military are getting the bit in their teeth. There is considerable evidence that their objective is absolute prepared-

ness in time of peace, an objective that has led all nations which have sought it to the garrison state, bankruptcy, and ruin.

Regimentation in Education

The military influence in science and education is already tremendous. The liaison between scientific institutions and the armed services—obviously of great importance in this technological age—is becoming progressively closer; scientists are being offered higher salaries and more attractive positions for weapons development work than they could hope to achieve on college campuses; and at the same time the freedom of scientific research—once one of our basic freedoms—has been severely curtailed by the service ban on publication of many scientific papers and the secrecy restrictions that govern nearly all work done for the Government.

Moreover, those who have feared the Federal subsidization of education should note that the Government—through the Army and Navy—has entered our peacetime colleges in a big way. The postwar naval ROTC, distributed throughout fifty-two colleges in the nation, will guarantee several thousands of young men annually the finest scholarships they could possibly receive in return for some hours' study of naval science each week. The Government pays the universities—and thus, as a fat and wealthy "customer," must

eventually have considerable influence upon them. Army ROTC courses have been increased in number and size, and suggestions—still strictly unofficial—have been made that junior ROTC courses should be extended to many high schools. The passage of universal military training legislation, with its various options, would enormously increase the number of Federally subsidized students in the nation, and the dependence of our whole educational system upon military financing and military policy.

Industrial Dictation

Industry has similarly been invaded by the military. Many of our military leaders, realizing that victory in the recent war was won by our factories, understandably emphasize the importance of industrial mobilization planning. The Navy Industrial Association, the Army Ordnance Association, and numerous other semiofficial military agencies form the integrating link between big industry and the military. These organizations perform undeniably useful functions; but they also increase greatly the influence of the military in industry, especially through service-sponsored off-the-record meetings, demonstrations, cruises, etc. Industrial mobilization planning extends to the stock-piling of materials, which has a major effect upon the world economy; to the placing of "educational" orders

for munitions in peacetime; and to the classification of various raw materials as "strategic." It has led to declarations by naval leaders, at least that the oil of the Middle East is "vital" to the United States—which is something that naval leaders should not decide, in view of its terrific potential consequence upon our foreign policy.

Most important, military orders now amount to a considerable and, in certain industries, a dominant share of the total volume, with obvious consequences. This is particularly true in the aircraft industry, which is virtually dependent upon military patronage and thus naturally becomes a powerful mouthpiece for our armed services.

But more menacing than any of these extensions of military power into civilian fields is the growing power and prestige of the military in influencing public and Congressional opinion.

Propaganda Experts

I recognize that it is very hard to draw a satisfactory line between fact and propaganda, and that there is an inevitable human tendency to put the best foot forward. But suppression of news, censorship at the source, the conduct of lobbies in Congress, and tax-financed efforts to put across certain legislation by influencing public opinion constitute to my mind propaganda and, when conducted by a Government agency,

propaganda of a most dangerous kind. The military services today are conducting propaganda—both by what they do and cause to be published, and by what they censor and try to hide.

Let us consider the latter first. Censorship at the source—that is, the hiding of news of interest and importance to the body politic—that is, of course, the most effective censorship, far more so than the blue-pencil kind. The services are exercising a greater degree of censorship at the source than ever before in our peacetime history. Much information that should be available to the public is classified as "confidential" or "secret," and the public information officers of the services profess themselves helpless to release anything so classified.

The limits to which this censorship at the source goes are not generally understood. Many of the captured German war documents, for instance, still are unavailable to scholars; so, too, are hundreds of our own war documents. Some of this "overclassification" can be laid to the inertia of a big machine, but some is deliberate—the building of a screen to veil and protect the sacrosanct services. The Hepburn report on the disgraceful Battle of Savo Island has never yet, for instance, been made public by the Navy.

More serious is the deliberate and
(Continued on page 18)

Solons' Shepherd

*By Robert Burkhardt**

THE Rev. Peter Marshall, D.D., native of Coatbridge, Scotland, and citizen of Washington, D. C., has been chaplain of the United States Senate only since last January, when his appointment was made.

In the relatively short time since, as service in the Senate is marked, Dr. Marshall has firmly established a reputation among the ninety-six members of his charge for the pungent phrasing of his opening prayers, and the tart morsels of thought he offers in them.

Just before an important debate on foreign aid last spring, for example, the new chaplain prayed: "Give us clear vision, that we may know where to stand and what to stand for—unless we stand for something, we shall fall for anything."

A short time later, during the debates on the appointment of David Lilienthal to be chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, one of Dr. Marshall's prayers included: "Teach us that liberty is not only to be loved, but also to be lived. Liberty is too precious a thing to be buried in books. It costs too much to be hoarded. Make us to see that liberty is not the right to do as we please, but the opportunity to please to do what is right."

Later, on June 17, a day of varied business in the Senate, including a brisk argument on a resolution to authorize the Committee on Civil Service to investigate the appointment of first-, second-, or third-class postmasters, Dr. Marshall's prayer asked: "Since we strain at gnats and swallow camels, give us a new standard of values and the ability to know a trifle when we see it and to deal with it as such."

At the time when Secretary of State Marshall left Washington to attend the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Senate chaplain gave voice to the prayers of many when he asked: "May Thy Spirit move them, that there may be concession without coercion and conciliation without compromise."

Although Dr. Marshall decries the "Lord helps those who help themselves" philosophy, he was moved a short time later to pray: "O Father in heaven, as we pray for thy guidance and help, we know that thou dost not intend prayer to be a substitute for work."

The air of turmoil and haste which accompanies most Senate business seems to have made an early impression upon the new chaplain. A number of his prayers have contained pleas for a slower pace, a

(Continued on page 19)

* Chaplain of the Senate. From *The New York Times*, January 11, 1948. Used with permission.

YOU PAY YOUR MONEY

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING is the same kind of compulsory training that proved to be no defense whatever for France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, and every other country that Nazi Germany overran with its relatively small mechanized armies. It is the same kind of military training that Americans thought so abhorrent in Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and Stalin's Russia.

It will be no defense. If there is a next war—which there must not be—it will be fought with atom bombs, guided missiles, germs, supersonic planes.

But it will take money! Americans must decide whether to pay billions for a brass-hat luxury, or put the money into the productive efforts of peace.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

Five Billion Dollars

Six months' training	\$1,750,000,000
National Guard	694,000,000
Organized reserve	400,000,000
R O T C	80,000,000
Lost production	1,000,000,000
Weapons replacement	1,000,000,000

ADDED MILITARY SERVICES

Twenty-two Billion Dollars

Army, Navy, Air Force	\$9,881,859,000
Veterans' Service	7,500,000,000
Interest on debt (principally war incurred)	5,000,000,000

Where can we best afford to put our money; into an obsolete method of preparing for war, or into methods for building universal peace?

EUROPEAN RECOVERY

Five Billion Dollars

A European Recovery Program is essential to Eliminate the hunger and despair on which Communism thrives Restore a productive Europe Build world peace

UNITED NATIONS

Twenty-five Million Dollars

For every dollar spent by ALL nations on the United Nations budget—the United States would spend \$148 on UMT alone!

EDUCATION

Two and a Half Billion Dollars

We are asked to add to the budget for UMT for a million boys a year more than we spend in the same time to educate 23 million boys and girls!

YOU TAKE YOUR CHOICE

SUPPOSE UMT WOULD COST ONLY \$3,000,000,000 PER YEAR!
HERE ARE SOME OF THE OTHER THINGS AMERICA COULD DO
WITH THAT AMOUNT OF MONEY

In every county in the United States . . .

Construct a modern 10-room school building

Employ 10 full-time school doctors

Purchase 10 new school busses

Employ 10 full-time school nurses

Pay the salaries of 10 junior-college instructors

Maintain a psychiatric clinic

Construct a \$50,000 library

Provide 10 full-time recreational and juvenile guidance workers

Construct a \$150,000 hospital

And for every Congressional district . . .

Erect a three-quarter-million-dollar trade and technical school

And for the whole nation . . .

Pay one year's tuition and maintenance at college for *every boy who would be drafted by UMT*

Pay all expenses of a three-year postgraduate course of 10,000 selected students

Give \$300 to every substandard public school

Provide free education for the 3,000,000 children under 18 who are not now attending school.

WHICH PROGRAM WOULD BE BETTER FOR AMERICA?

\$5,000,000,000 for universal military training, added suspicion and tension, a speeded-up armaments race, and perhaps a world-destroying war.

OR

Aid to Europe on a large scale and in a generous spirit, demonstrations of the way in which democracy should work, more help to education and international organizations, and a chance for world peace.

WHEN YOU'VE MADE YOUR CHOICE, BE SURE TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

Recovery Through Co-operation

*By Barbara M. White **

I SHOULD like to talk with you tonight about three phases of the European Recovery Program which are particularly significant—the amount needed, the conditions of our aid, and the relationship of the program to the United Nations.

Amount of Aid

As Congressman Jacob K. Javits has pointed out, the amount of aid which the Congress should authorize is enough to do the job—enough to bring about European recovery. To provide less would mean squandering our funds on mere relief projects; to provide too much would be a waste of the taxpayers' money. The President has requested \$6.8 billion for the first fifteen months of the program. Is it justified?

It is important, I think, to see how the figure was reached. The groundwork—the actual planning of what the program should involve, and its scope—was done by the sixteen nations themselves in the meeting of their Committee of European Economic Co-operation last fall. Their report, in turn, was thoroughly analyzed in this country by three special committees (Krug, Nourse, and Harriman), as well as by the executive agencies of the Government

and various Congressional committees. The final result—the President's recommendation—represents careful screening and checking of the legitimacy of the requests, and our ability to meet them.

Another point to be kept in mind in judging the amount of aid required is that recovery depends on many contingencies which no one can predict accurately. Consider, for a moment, the question of weather. The crops which the sixteen nations have planned, and have stated as their goals in the CEEC report, depend on normal weather. Now if they have droughts or floods, that cuts down on their production of crops. Or if there is another terribly severe winter, like the one of 1946-1947, that could throw off their estimates on fuel supplies.

Trade between eastern and western Europe is another unpredictable. This trade, which is now gradually increasing in volume, is extremely important to European recovery. If, for political reasons, it should diminish later on, if western Europe doesn't get coal and timber and food from the east, she will need more dollars to purchase these supplies from the United States, Canada, and Latin America. Still another big question mark is price levels. In working out their report, the sixteen

* Program Secretary, League of Women Voters. From speech made at Churchmen's Washington Seminar, January, 1948.

nations had to make certain assumptions on which to base their calculations over the four years. They guessed that the prices of goods to be bought in the Western Hemisphere will gradually decline about 12½ per cent through this period, while the goods which they themselves export will not decline in price. This means that if prices here do not fall, more dollars will be required to reach the recovery goals.

These are just a few of the unpredictables, but they illustrate why the program must be flexible, why it must allow some leeway for unexpected developments. There is, I believe, far more danger of underestimating the needs than of overestimating them. Unfortunately, Congress doesn't seem to lean to this viewpoint. Rather, it is apt to pare the funds down to the absolute minimum, or just a little below that minimum. This system might be economical in the short run, but it is not economical in the long run if it defeats its purpose—recovery.

Conditions of U.S. Aid

In considering the conditions that we should attach to our aid, I think it is important to keep in mind one primary fact: E R P is the program of the sixteen nations, and it is they, not we, who will carry it out. To be sure, our goods and dollars are essential, but the European nations themselves must do by far the greatest part of the work.

It would be neither right, nor practical, for the United States to attempt to tell the Europeans how to run their domestic economies. The responsibility of directing their internal affairs is more than we could possibly take on. Beyond this practical viewpoint, moreover, is the question of what is right. One of the reasons for the European Recovery Program is to enable these nations to continue as self-respecting and self-governing members of the world community. If the United States should attempt to make them subservient to our views, we would not accomplish that end.

We are, of course, legitimately concerned to see that our dollars are not wasted—that they make their full contribution to European recovery. I suggest that we can do this best by stipulating general conditions of progress toward recovery, and use of our funds and goods toward this end. We can well require the nations to make the efforts that they themselves promised in the C E E C report—to work toward increased production, higher exports, lowered trade barriers, and financial stability. Because of the unpredictable factors in recovery, we should not hold them too closely to specific goals of the number of bushels of wheat, or tons of coal. In watching over the progress of E R P, we might rely not only on our own observers, but also on those of the European nations themselves. It seems to me

essential that the CEEC (which drafted the Paris report) continue in operation. The need for economic co-operation didn't die with the writing of the report; it will remain throughout the four-year period. Through a continuing CEEC the nations will be able to prod and check up on one another, to see that they are living up to their agreements. Coming from their own committee, such pressure would be far less resented and more effective than United States pressure.

Relationship to the United Nations

While our Government can certainly be criticized for having suggested the Marshall Plan without making any reference to the United Nations, it seems to me that administration through the UN would not have been practical. At the time of Secretary Marshall's Harvard speech, the UN's Economic Commission for Europe had already held one meeting which had bogged down in a procedural wrangle: Russia had given every intention of doing her best to delay and obstruct any program in the ECE. She was pressing for a two thirds' vote which would in effect have given the Soviet bloc a veto over ECE action. The commission had a second meeting in July, where majority voting was agreed upon and organization details completed. By that time, however, the USSR and the eastern European nations had refused to par-

ticipate in the Paris Conference, and made a violent attack on the E R P.

Despite the fact that the United Nations cannot, under these circumstances, administer E R P, it *can* play a significant role in European recovery. The Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Bank and Fund, the Civil Aviation Organization, and the World Health Organization all have contributions to make. The Economic Commission for Europe itself has the important role of encouraging co-operation between eastern and western Europe, which will make a big difference in the speed of recovery. Poland and Czechoslovakia, although not participating in ERP, are anxious to work with western European nations for their mutual benefit. We should encourage this as much as possible, for real progress may be made here regardless of the east-west split. The Inland Transport Committee of the ECE, for example, has recently worked out an agreement among eight European countries, including Czechoslovakia, to do away with certain barriers to trucking. The Coal Committee of ECE has recently taken over the functions of the European Coal Organization, which had been most successful in allocating supplies of German coal.

It seems practical from the point of view of European recovery, as well as sound support for the United Nations, to use UN machinery whenever possible.

How to Starve a Greek Town

*By Robert St. John**

WE HAD gone into the mountains of Greece to visit a starving town—one of many being starved deliberately and systematically. Its UNRRA food shipments were being withheld by the Greek Government; its people had been warned that if they tried to leave, the Greek army would shoot them on the roads.

Yes, there were many such towns, admitted the nomarch, head of the county government at Yanitsa. There were forty-six villages in his district with an average population of 800. About half of them were cut off entirely from any food supplies. Nineteen of them had received no food for five months; two had received none for six months. The nomarch admitted that the UNRRA food which had been allotted to the villages was in a warehouse right here in Yanitsa. He patted Ernest Griffin on the shoulder. "Don't worry," he said. "In a matter of days our army will drive the bandits from this district and then we will give food to everybody."

Griffin is a mild, kindly fellow, a British UNRRA official for the Yanitsa district. He glared at the nomarch and said:

"You told me that same thing exactly six months ago!"

* Author of *From the Land of the Silent People*. From '48, January, 1948. Used with permission.

The starving was being done, we knew, for "political" reasons. By imposing martial law and a food blockade on the civil war area, the Greek Government hoped to prevent the villagers from aiding the guerrillas. But the blockade had gone into effect a long time ago; now people were starving.

In Athens an American official of UNRRA had let me see a map of Greece made after a careful survey by trained UNRRA investigators. It was speckled with red dots. Each dot represented a town or village being denied UNRRA food.

The starving, the UNRRA official had told me, was being done coldly and thoroughly. Greek newspapers had carried articles about it, to no effect. Hundreds of thousands of people were affected by the embargo. And to make the situation even worse, the people of these villages, many of whom made their living by cutting timber, were forbidden to go into the woods. Banks were ordered not to extend credit.

The monarch told us that Asvestario was one of the towns that had been cut off from food for months, so we set out across the fields for Asvestario.

We drove through a narrow twisting street in Asvestario and parked the jeep in front of a combination

cafenion and general store. By the time the driver had pulled on the brake, people were running toward us from all directions.

They told us that the last time they had had a shipment of food was ten months ago. Several hundred people were gathered around us by now, and they were still coming.

They said there were 117 families in Asvestario. Most of those left were women and children, judging by the crowd around our jeep. There were only about a dozen men in sight, and most of the children were under 15. They said 200 of the villagers had been declared paupers or, to use the official U N R R A word, "indigents." The villagers used to make their living principally by cutting timber, but for months the Government had forbidden them to go to the woods to work. When had they last had a shipment of clothing? They looked blankly at one another. Finally one old woman said, "So long ago we can't remember."

When we asked whether there were any medical supplies in the village, they agreed unanimously that there were none. The great number of children gathered around prompted us to ask if there was a schoolteacher in Asvestario. No, there had been no teacher here in

seven years—since 1940. That meant there were children twelve and thirteen years old who had never seen the inside of a classroom.

Had they made any appeals to the Government for food? Most of them laughed as if we had just told them a very funny story. Of course, they had, but what good did we think that did? Then we asked them if the *Endartes* (guerrillas) would take food if it were delivered to the village. One man answered that the *Endartes* hadn't been around in many months.

"We'd eat it up before anyone could take it from us," exclaimed a woman in the crowd.

What was the difference between events now and during the German occupation? They looked at one another and did some whispering. Then one of the men spoke up.

"When the Germans were here they didn't keep us from working. It was better then."

Did they have more or less food now than when the Germans were here? Less, they said. Much less now. Did any of the villagers die of hunger during the winter? No. But it was going to be worse now. Last winter they had had a little food put away, but in the next four or five months many would probably die.

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An American General has become a member of the Greek National Defense Council. He will have a voice in the fight against the Greek guerrillas. AP dispatch from Athens, February 16, 1948.

Amnesty, Limited

*By Clifford Earle **

PRESIDENTIAL pardons were granted at Christmas to 1,523 violators of the Selective Service Act of 1940. More than 12,000 persons remain unpardoned and are still branded as criminals. Only about 600 of this number are still in confinement. The vast majority have completed their sentences and have been returned to civilian life under a cloud that deprives them of many basic rights, including entrance into certain professions and employment under civil service.

The limited mercy of the Presidential pardon proclamation is a disappointment to Church leaders and others who have been pleading for a general amnesty. Both the 158th and 159th General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church petitioned for an unlimited pardon "following the abundant precedent for such acts established by Presidents Washington, Adams, Madison, Lincoln, and Wilson."

The Amnesty Board was appointed by the President in December, 1946, just a year before the release of its report. Former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts was named chairman; the other members are Willis Smith, former president of the American Bar Associa-

tion, and James T. O'Neill, national commander of the American Legion. Both Mr. Roberts and Mr. O'Neill are before the public now as vigorous campaigners for universal military training.

The board claims to have reviewed each case separately with the view of recommending individual pardons. To do this at all adequately or equitably in the time given to the task would seem to have been an impossibility. Working diligently ten hours a day for 300 days, the board might have devoted eleven minutes to each of the 15,805 cases on which judgment was passed. Even with the aid of a large corps of expert assistants, such as the report lists, the study of individual cases could hardly have been thorough.

The board's report, which was released at the same time as the President's proclamation, outlines the basis on which pardons were granted. It discloses that at the outset the board established policies which in effect eliminated from consideration five significant classes of violators. It would appear that as soon as an individual's record identified him with one of these prohibited classifications, he was put on the disqualified list.

The first group not included in the recommendations for pardon were

* Associate Secretary, Division of Social Education and Action, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education.

willful violators with prior criminal records. They were disqualified on the basis of their records which in many cases revealed attitudes of disrespect for law and civil rights. Nearly one half of the cases studied by the board belonged in this category. Presidential pardons in their cases would have been meaningless because they still would be classed as criminals on the basis of their former records, with continuing loss of civil rights.

The second group not recommended for pardon were violators who had become mental cases. Most of them are now in mental institutions "with little or no chance of recovery." The board's report states, "Until they recover mental health their loss of civil rights imposes no undue burden." Whatever the sickness may be, to penalize anyone because of ill health is a denial of a fundamental American freedom. The injustice is a cruel "burden" on America's conscience. The decision of the board not to recommend mental cases for pardon, however deserving they may be on every other count, is unbelievably harsh and intolerant. Is the action here a revelation of the spirit in which the board did its work and made its recommendations to the President?

A third class of violators denied amnesty were those who based their conscientious objection to war, not on religious training or belief, but on intellectual, political, or socio-

logical convictions. This discrimination perpetuates a narrow and legalistic distinction made in the Selective Service Act itself—a distinction which offended many thoughtful religious people and caused a great amount of unnecessary trouble for administrative officials. It is nonsense to assume that an ethical or philosophical objection to war cannot be as conscientious and compelling as a purely religious objection. Moreover, this group of violators includes a large number of earnest young men whose difficulties began when they could not prove to the satisfaction of their local draft boards that their conscientious objection to war was rooted in religious training or in the teachings of the Churches to which they belonged. Many of these young men would have received better treatment, and would not now be labeled as criminals, if their Churches had stood by them with understanding and compassion. In denying amnesty to this important group of violators, the President's board permitted mercy to lose out on a technicality.

A fourth group eliminated from the board's recommendations were those who, for good and conscientious reasons, were willful violators of the Selective Service Act. There were many, for example, who had sincere scruples against entering a civilian public service camp as an alternative to entering military serv-

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A Clergyman Looks at the Movies

*By Allan A. Hunter **

MAMMON is behind the movies. One does not have to be a Marxist to suspect that the ultimate reason for putting on a picture or adding a little more synthetic dirt to such and such a scene is purely economic. Of course it is necessary if you are a producer to appease the Church, which is not always to be sneered at financially—at least certain branches of it. And it is smart to end with chimes resounding. But you can be sure that "the bitch goddess Success," against which William James warned, is not going to be challenged in her kennel as Amos challenged the ecclesiastical sale of men for a pair of shoes. Granted the exceptions—the noble exceptions such as *Ox Bow Incident* of several years back—success in Hollywood has one simple criterion: box-office returns.

False Values

If only some repentant producer could do the impossible and promote a sincerely artistic picture specifically exposing what Hollywood's deadly scale of values does to personality! Then we should sense what a paper like this can only pallidly hint at. We could perhaps trace the

screen's amazing facility for amplifying and reiterating emotionally resonant images until a child, for example, takes for granted that gun play on the range or among the nations is more admirable, more manly, more exciting and natural, than the power of persuasion by truth and mutual aid can ever hope to be. This business of glamourizing the gangster, of showing how to dodge the police, of making the good man an uncolorful pussyfooter while the lawbreaker has the right reactions, may be profitable but it is socially dangerous.

My complaint against Hollywood is not so much its wickedness as its sentimentality, which means putting too high a value on everything the movie stars fall for, and closing the eyes tight to the price that way of life ultimately exacts. Turn a child into a movie addict and you make it excessively hard for him to see life steadily and to see it whole. He will suffer from an extra and cruel pressure to believe that to be happy it is essential to ride in expensive cars, wear beautiful clothes, be seen at overprivileged resorts, and otherwise live in a dream world where one can get everything through money and glamour. Incidentally but not insignificantly, the doctrine will be deftly

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* Pastor, Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, Los Angeles, California. Reprinted from *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Philadelphia, November, 1947.

For Time



Adena Joy

Portland, Oregon. Miss Joy will occupy the office which was most ably filled by Miss Elsie G. Rodgers until the time of her retirement.

"A Calculated Risk"

Secretary Marshall in support of ERP has referred to the program as representing "a calculated risk." He has in this clearly set forth his conviction that no one can guarantee the successful issue of ERP. Mr. Marshall's approach to the program assumes the nature of a venture of faith. Perhaps, however, our statesmen hesitate to employ such a term in programs of foreign policy. In fact, our faith is more than the "calculated risk" of the statesman or the soldier because God is taken into the "calculations." When this is done the will of God becomes the chief concern in policy-making. The hazard of a course is then eclipsed by confidence, the "assurance of things hoped for," enjoyed by all those who confidently go out by faith as "heirs of the promise."

In this day of uncertainty and confusion among our counselors, the Christian can be forever thankful that he need not determine his course of action by first establishing the assured success of his course. Life does not afford such guarantees. He is, however, required to discover the will of God and do it. The revelation of that purpose together with grace to take his place in it is afforded by our Lord.

The question in Christian living (which includes domestic and foreign

like These

policy!) then becomes whether or not we have the faith to accept the Lordship of Jesus and the courage to do his will. The disposition even among Christians to forsake the leadership of Jesus cannot longer be tolerated. Christians do not justify themselves or reveal their wisdom in excusing their refusal to follow the clear teaching of Jesus as "too idealistic." They witness to their own unfaithfulness. It is apostasy to taboo religion when it becomes relevant; to act on the assumption that religion and politics do not mix; that religion and business do not mix. Such a course eliminates all possibility of a Christian solution in critical matters.

In the early years of the war, Winston Churchill made this important statement: "It is not given to the cleverest and the most calculating of mortals to know with certainty what is their interest. Yet it is given to quite a lot of simple folk to know every day what is their duty." We may respond that when one knows and sets his feet upon the path of duty, he is on the way of his true blessedness also. Augustine declared: "Woe to the audacious spirit which in forsaking thee thought to gain some better thing."

The desperate need throughout the world and the great proportion of the wealth of the world held by the United States makes our duty quite clear. In 1940 the United States, with 6 per cent of the world's population, held almost 50 per cent of the wealth. Since that date our position has improved. The requirements of the European Recovery Plan represent the beginning of our responsibility to Europe and the pledge of our faithfulness until the task is finished. Such support is essential if we are to fulfill our Christian duty and to restore the spirits as well as the bodies of needy people. This action is much better designed to reassure and nerve the nations who share our democratic ideals than the proposal of the advocates of UMT who see their program of armaments ministering to a broken Europe. The Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training argues that "the lands that share our democratic ideals but lack our resources of men and material will lose faith in our will or our ability to make real the principles for which we stand." The encouragement Europe now needs will not be derived from the knowledge that we possess millions under arms but that they are to possess food, shelter, and clothing. They have asked us for bread. Will they be content because we flourish a sword? They have asked of us a fish. Will they be satisfied to know we have the bomb? Our duty is to minister to a hungry and broken world. We will find it neither in our nature or our ability to pace an armaments race in the atomic age and at the same time restore the world.

The Military Move In

(Continued from page 4)

contrived effort of the services to influence Congressional and public opinion.

This influence is both direct (in Washington) and indirect (by way of public opinion throughout the country). In the case of at least two bills—the so-called merger or unification measure and the universal military training proposal—carefully planned and organized lobbies and propaganda campaigns have been conducted by the services since the war.

The propaganda drive for the enactment of universal military training has been the more blatant, largely because the services are not divided on this issue. The technique is well devised and thorough. The aid of veterans' organizations, civic societies, chambers of commerce, and "big names"—who are always psychologically impressed by "confidential" military revelations of our "weakness," or by the "tenseness" of a situation—are enlisted as Army spokesmen. A showcase for UMT, with all the trappings and furbelows best calculated to sell it, has been set up at Fort Knox, and numerous visitors are flown there—many of them at Government expense. Army Advisory Committees—hundreds of them all over the country—have been established to "give public endorsement," in the words of Colonel Guy V. Miller, "when justified, to Army-sponsored endeavors such as the recruiting program—to assist in disseminating information about Army plans and releasing information to the press and by talks and speeches before civic, educational, and religious groups . . . , etc. Many of these committees are roughly representative of the general population in the communities from which they are drawn; a few are top-heavy with business leaders.

The Army Department's propaganda for UMT has not only stressed its absolute military necessity—something that is challenged by its opponents, including some within the Army—but has carried the

argument a step further and described UMT as the "salvation"—moral and mental as well as physical—of the decadent youth of the nation. Like all good propaganda it not only repeats the same old clichés over and over again (with the technique Hitler used so successfully) until people believe them, but it attacks and derogates not only the arguments but the motives of the measure's opponents. Some it has daubed with the "pacifist" or "crackpot" brush; others it tries to paint as "Communist."

The result, in any case, is the same: propaganda carefully conducted by a Government department in contravention of Federal laws. The proof is clearly provided in a little-noticed report of a House Subcommittee on Publicity and Propaganda of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, which was transmitted to the Attorney General for action on July 23. This Subcommittee which investigated the War Department's activities in behalf of UMT included in its membership—interestingly enough—at least one leading and ardent advocate of UMT, Representative James W. Wadsworth. Chairman Forest A. Harness and his co-members, including Mr. Wadsworth, agreed—with the unanimous endorsement of the full Committee on Executive Expenditures—that "the Army Department, its personnel, and civilian employees have gone beyond the limits of their proper duty of providing factual information to the people and the Congress, and have engaged in propaganda supported by taxpayers' money to influence legislation now pending before the Congress."

The evidence submitted to the Attorney General showed that the Army Department had produced a special film, extolling UMT, called a *Plan for Peace*, which cost \$36,293. And it had sent two paid civilian speakers around the country to beat the drums in UMT's behalf and it had issued slanted pamphlets—some of them containing facts challenged by witnesses—advocating UMT. The significance of this sort

of thing was well stated in the Harness committee report.

"It has become apparent to your committee," the report stated, "that Government (in this case, Army Department) propaganda is designed, in most instances, to make the individual believe he is thinking for himself. In reality, Government propaganda distorts facts, with such authority that the person becomes prejudiced or biased in the direction which the Government propagandists wish to lead national thinking. It is the authority and the supposed objectivity of Government which leads people to accept without question the words released by Government officials and agencies."

The middle way is the best way. We need military strength in this uncertain world; appeasement and weakness certainly mean war. But so, too, do militant and overbearing strength and too great an emphasis on military as opposed to political, economic, and psychological strength. The military must be honored but not extolled, allowed to influence but not to propagandize, have their place in government but a place strictly circumscribed.

For there is nothing so hopeless, all past history tells us, as the attempt to achieve absolute security by the sword. The tragic fallacy of such attempts is written large upon the past for all to see. Least of all in the atomic age can we achieve absolute security or total preparedness. If we attempt it, we shall have sold our birthright of freedom; liberty will have been sacrificed for a mirage. There is strength above all in the basic American concept that military power is and must remain subordinate to civilian authority.

"Our most cherished conventional armaments represent an era of warfare which will never return. . . . There is no defense against absolute war, except to make war itself obsolete."

Solons' Shepherd

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more economical expenditure of energy. One of the first he delivered, for example, concluded: "Slow us down, O Lord, that we may have time to think, time to pray, and time to find out thy will. Then give us the sense and the courage to do it, for the good of the country and the glory of thy name."

A few days later he repeated his theme: "We pray, O God, that thou wilt slow us down, for we know that we live too fast. . . . If we are to burn ourselves out, may it be for causes worth-while."

A few weeks later he brought up the matter again, this time with a pointed warning: "Save us from the sin of worrying, lest stomach ulcers be the badge of our lack of faith."

Dr. Marshall, possessor of a soft but determined voice and more than a trace of a Scottish accent, considers his Senate chaplainship a challenge and an opportunity, not a political appointment.

"I can truthfully say I have no politics," he remarked in a recent interview, referring to the fact that he became a United States citizen after taking up residence in the voteless District of Columbia. "My interest, if any, is in public issues, not party politics."

Dr. Marshall was born on May 27, 1902. He attended Coatbridge Technical College before emigrating to the United States at the age of twenty-five. In this country he dug ditches in New Jersey and worked in the composing room of *The Birmingham* (Alabama) *News* before entering Columbia Theological Seminary. He was graduated in 1931 and entered the ministry in Atlanta. In 1937 he accepted a call from Washington's venerable New York Avenue Presbyterian Church. His service as chaplain of the Senate is in addition to that in his New York Avenue charge.

A Clergyman Looks at the Movies

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slipped into the unconscious mind that to be socially acceptable one has no alternative but to drink.

Confused Impressions

Stardom is a system of exploiting hero worship that must make Carlyle revolve in his grave with an awful sense of irony. Nobody, as far as I know, has thoroughly exposed what this system knits into the nervous make-up of adolescents over the world.

In a sense, the stars are dictators. While the Church or Church School touches perhaps 30 million, and the day school and campus reach something like 50 million people, the movies take in good money from possibly 83 million attendants a week. That attack on the mind through streamlined techniques of unlabeled propaganda may be affecting our pattern of living more devastatingly than we suspect. There is no exact way of measuring Hollywood's influence on mores. Before its devotees realize what is happening, they are indoctrinated into contentment.

Escape into murder mysteries or into saccharine romances, whereby one forgets for a few hours the tensions of the factory, office, or kitchen, no doubt saves some driven persons from breakdown. And there are certainly pictures that encourage the audience to put themselves in the shoes of other people. Thus nerves are soothed and horizons enlarged. A certain amount of such passivity is presumably a good thing. But is not the general tendency to nourish the push-button attitude? Just what, for example, are the pictures doing to prevent the spread of totalitarianism?

Too rarely does Hollywood tackle an issue involving such relationships as cartels, monopoly, lynching, segregation, imperialism, or the urgency of international

co-operation with regard to raw materials, waterways, and markets. It can dramatize the horror of the atomic bomb, but the solution that cries for popularization takes more than adrenaline in the blood. The words of Reinhold Niebuhr, perhaps America's leading theologian, had better not be passed over too casually. In a personal letter, after two or more recent tours of investigation through Europe, he writes:

"The movies in Europe are the primary source of resentment against us and the most fruitful cause of misinterpretation of American life. Intelligent Europeans resent them and the unintelligent receive completely erroneous conceptions of what we are and do as a nation."

Potentialities Unfulfilled

No easy answer is herewith offered. What is being suggested is simply this: It is not enough for the producers to alibi: "We give the public what it wants. Until the public makes known it has changed its mind, we will keep feeding it what it pays for." We who patronize the movies most emphatically do seem to be acting like sheep, and our acquiescence is an invitation to the leaders on the screen, as elsewhere, to treat us like mutton—which they are doing. The easiest recipe for box-office receipts may be "boy meets girl." That is no adequate reason for side-stepping social responsibility, which does not fade out even though the wedding march does.

The creative potentialities of Hollywood are what the young people would call "terrific." Consider the Curies peering through the door and the darkness at that tiny gleam with its promise and potency of radium. There you have a small intimation of what can be achieved positively and what the younger producers may bring forth after the old hands go. Meanwhile, the tragedy of Hollywood is not the harm it has been doing abroad and at home. It is the almost complete failure to attempt to show us what kind of world it is we really live in today.

Amnesty, Limited

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ice. Others objected to administrative practices in the civilian camps which they deemed unfair, discriminatory, or unconstitutional. Some were Negroes who found certain Jim Crow tactics unendurable. They protested openly, refused to submit to particular features of the law on conscientious grounds, accepted sentences as intentional violators, and paid their penalties in full. In denying them amnesty, the board's action falls short of magnanimity.

The fifth class of violators not included in the pardon recommendations of the President's Amnesty Board were Jehovah's Witnesses, some 4,300 in number. They came into difficulty because they claimed exemption under the Selective Service Act as ministers of religion, though almost all of them pursued secular occupations and devoted only margins of time to "witnessing." Local draft boards could not justifiably grant them ministerial status, and since they refused to be classified or processed as conscientious objectors, the only alternative was to deal with them as willful violators of the law. In insisting upon their own interpretation of ministerial exemption and in refusing to deal with the matter on any other basis, the Jehovah's Witnesses may be open to serious criticism. But the earnestness of their objection to military service cannot be refuted. They accepted sentences and paid their penalties in full as a matter of conscience and religious loyalty. In refusing to qualify them for pardons, the Amnesty Board opens itself to a charge of narrow religious discrimination.

So the President's Amnesty Board, under its own policies, saw fit to recommend for Presidential clemency only those violators of the Selective Service Act (1) who had no prior criminal histories, (2) who were in good mental health, (3) who had proved themselves to be conscientious objectors

on acceptable religious grounds, (4) whose scruples did not bring them to open defiance of the law under which they were assigned to civilian camps, and (5) who did not insist on ministerial exemption as Jehovah's Witnesses.

There were a few exceptions, to be sure, but on the whole and by the board's own analysis of its work, this seems to have been the test by which violators of the Selective Service Act were qualified for amnesty. No wonder only 1,523 names—one tenth of the total number of violators—were placed on the recommended list.

What about the more than 12,000 violators not listed for pardon? Are they to be labeled "pseudoconscientious objectors" as by Judge John Paul, of Virginia, in an article in *The Chaplain*, November, 1947? Judge Paul is especially zealous in applying his label to Jehovah's Witnesses. He falls into the legalistic error of recognizing as authentic conscientious objectors only those who profess a religious basis for their stand against war. Like many jurists throughout the country, he does not understand that courage, unselfish devotion, and willingness to fight for truth may lead a man to refuse participation in the war machine, or classification which is incorrect, or "nationally important" work which is unimportant, or racial segregation, etc. An alert conscience in an evil world will be obligated to make many objections which will be incomprehensible to a narrow intolerance and bias such as we have seen in the report of the President's Amnesty Board.

With the release of the President's Pardon Proclamation last December, the Amnesty Board concluded its commission and was duly discharged. But the cause of amnesty has not been served. The issue is still before the country. It involves the conscience of the Church. Freedom-loving citizens who are sensitive to injustice and discrimination will continue to plead for a much more inclusive amnesty.

Sanctuary

A Service of Worship for Solo and Choral Voices *

Choral Speech Group:

(Women) : Ps. 77: 7-9.

(Men) : Ps. 46: 1, 2; 80: 3.

The Leader: The bomb that fell on Hiroshima fell on America too.

It fell on people.

Not a few hundred thousand only,
But one hundred and thirty-five million.

Choral Speech:

(All) : Lord, have mercy upon us!

(Women) : We are children and we must
achieve the wisdom of maturity over-
night!

(Men) : We are little people and we must
learn overnight to be great!

(All) : Lord, have mercy upon us!

Vocal Solo: "Sometimes I Feel like a
Motherless Child."

Leader: I went to call on the Lord in His
house on the high hill,
My head full of one hundred and thirty-
five million, having to grow up over-
night.

"If ever a people, Lord, needed a miracle!"

Choral Speech:

(Men) : The Lord He looked at me as a
mountain might look at a molecule.

Solo Reader: "So you want a miracle,"
said the Lord. "My, my! You want a
miracle. I suppose you mean that you
want me to come sliding down a sun-
beam and make one hundred and thirty-
five million self-willed egotists overnight
into one hundred and thirty-five million
co-operative angels. Brother," said the
Lord, "that isn't the sort of universe
you're living in. And that isn't the sort
of God I am."

Choral Speech:

(Women) : The room was suddenly vast,

with the stars set bright in the ceiling.

Reader: "There is only one miracle," said
the Lord.

"All else is cause and effect. All else is
law.

There is only one miracle and it is already
accomplished.

That miracle is the human soul."

Choral Speech:

(Men) : The Lord strode through his
house so the timbers whispered to each
other.

(Women) : "He's thinking of the soul
tonight, of the soul of man,

(All) : "And the power asleep in the soul."

Reader: "I have given you a soul," cried
the Lord, "and you ask Me to come down
and do a magician's trick!

The people who smashed the atom didn't
beg Me to come with a thunderbolt and
split the nucleus for them.

They knew that there is power in the atom
and they set to work to release it.

There is power in the human soul," said
the Lord,

"When you break through and set it free.
Like the power of the atom.

More powerful than the atom.

It can control the atom,

The only thing in the world that can.

I told you the atom is the greatest force in
the world, save one.

That one is the human soul.

But," said the Lord, "the power must be
released, as the atom breakers released
the power of the atom.

And I have to get past a deal of ego to
release the power that is packed in the
soul of man.

But it isn't a miracle.

It's just the soul of man freed at last to be
itself."

* Selections from *The Bomb That Fell on America*, by Hermann Hagedorn. Association Press, New York. Used with permission.

Quartette: "Lord, I Want to Be a Christian."

Leader: The Lord He looked at me and His eyes pierced like hot wires.

Reader: "Perhaps," He said, "there is something in you and numerous others that will have to be cracked open, if a hundred and thirty-five million people are going to grow up overnight."

Leader: I hastened to reassure Him.
"There's nothing the matter with me . . .
I've run my business on the Golden Rule
for thirty years,
Fought in a dozen good causes, been
wounded and fought the day after . . .
I know I'm no dazzling seraph,
And my sword has no flaming edges, but
I drew it always for You."

Reader: "I am not interested," said the Lord, "in what you think you have done for Me,
Or the sword you have drawn for Me, in causes you chose and called Mine.
To Me you are a life, a life with a soul at the center,
And nothing you do has meaning but as fruit of that which you are."

Quartette: "Standing in Need of Prayer."

Choral Speech:

(All) : The Lord He lifted me up and the Lord He set me down,

In a desert He set me down . . .

(Men) : And there was a Cross in the desert, and a Man on the Cross.

Leader: And I was alone in the world, alone with a Man on a Cross.

Reader: "Look at Him," said a Voice, "and look at yourself."

Look at Him, and be still, look at yourself and be honest.

How do you appear to yourself beside Him?"

Leader: "I have never been crucified," I said . . .

Reader: "The world is sick," said the Voice, "for dearth of crucifixions."

Solo: "Were You There?"

Choral Speech (*single voices*) :

(First) : I talked about love, but I myself never loved.

(Second) : I talked about Christ, but I worshiped only myself.

(Third) : I talked about truth, but I never dared look truth in the face.

Reader: "Oh, why, man, why," cried the Lord, "why did you not dare?"

Choral Speech (*single voices*) :

(First) : Truth I knew was a fire. Truth I knew was a whip.

(Second) : Truth demanded thought, and I was indolent.

(Third) : Truth demanded courage, and I was timid.

(Three voices) : Truth is not in me. I have fed on lies.

(All) : Stripped naked and afire,
With all the self-will broken,
Shaking and sobbing, sobbing and shakin', I lay,

Alone in space, alone save for a Cross . . .

(Three voices) : "This is the end.
I am dust, and the wind will scatter me.
This is the end."

Reader: But the Voice said: "This is the beginning, this is daybreak.

Give me your life, and day shall be like a new world."

Choral Speech:

(All) : Man without God is a bubble in the sea, a single grain of sand on an infinite beach.

Reader: God without man is a mind without tongue or ears or eyes or fingers or feet.

Choral Speech and Reader:

God and man together, We are such power as not all the atoms in all Creation can match!

Everyone Singing: "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder."

Benediction

Christian Citizenship

European Recovery Program. "As Christians, we support the European Recovery Program in the conviction that it can be one of history's most momentous affirmations of faith in the curative power of freedom and in the creative capacities of free men." (*The Churches and the European Recovery Program*, Federal Council of Churches, January 13, 1948.) In the light of this expression of United Protestantism it seems appropriate to consider current questions being asked. (1) Why are some nations included which are not in dire need? Comment: This is a program for economic recovery, not a relief program. Europe for both geographic and economic reasons must function as a unit. Goods still cannot move unless there are dollars. Every country except the United States is short of dollars today. (2) Why is the United States shipping wine and tobacco in this program? Comment: The program does not call for any wine or alcohol. The list of major commodities to be shipped is as follows: (Figures in millions of dollars) bread grains, 535.5; petroleum, 530.6; cotton 438.3; coal, 297; tobacco, 210; finished steel, 182; agricultural machinery, 136. In 1945, tobacco exports from the United States were \$239 million. The \$210 million figure is less than the request from the nations themselves. Tobacco was requested for three reasons: it is an incentive to the people; it has a high tax in each country, some as high as 30 per cent; and it is a product with a quick turnover so it helps the speedy flow of dollars.

Can we afford the plan? Comment: The amount called for in the present bill is \$5.3 billions. This will come out of the 1948-1949 current operating budget of the United States. Our national budget is made up on over-all costs and over-all income. Because of the great geographical

differences both in population and in income any other method of calculation gives a distorted picture. The anticipated receipts for the Federal budget are estimated at \$47 billions. Mr. Truman's budget called for an expenditure of \$40 billions. This may be cut as low as \$37 billions. In either case the amount for E R P is already included in Mr. Truman's budget. No tax cut beyond \$6 billion is anticipated and probably a lesser amount will be agreed upon.

Summary of S. 2202—"The Economic Co-operation Act of 1948."

So-called European Recovery Program.

DECLARATION OF POLICY. "Recognizing the intimate economic and other relationships between the United States and the nations of Europe . . . , mindful of the advantages which the United States has enjoyed through the existence of a large domestic market with no internal trade barriers, it is the hope of the people of the United States that these countries will speedily achieve that economic co-operation in Europe which is essential for lasting peace and prosperity."

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES are the sixteen nations that signed the Paris report, September 22, 1947, and any other country wholly or partly in Europe provided such country adheres to a joint program for European recovery.

ADMINISTRATION. There shall be an administrator responsible to the President. Duties: Review and appraise the requirements of participating countries; formulate programs of United States assistance, including approval of specific projects submitted by participating countries. The administrator and the Secretary of State shall keep each other fully informed. In addition there is provision for a National Advisory Council made up of

the Secretaries of Treasury, State, Commerce, Chairmen of Federal Reserve, Export—Import Bank of Washington. And a Public Advisory Board made up of the administrator as chairman and twelve additional members appointed by the President, with Senate approval. This board shall meet at least once a month. The act also establishes a Joint Congressional Committee made up of seven members from each branch, whose function it is to make a continuous study of the program.

NATURE AND METHOD OF ASSISTANCE. "The administrator may furnish assistance to any participating country as follows:

1. Procurement from any source of any commodity, material, article, merchant vessel required.
2. Processing, storing, transporting, and repairing any commodities.
3. Procurement of and furnishing technical information and assistance.
4. Placing in operating condition not more than three hundred dry-cargo merchant vessels owned by the United States and not in operation."
5. Transfer of commodities or services as necessary.

OTHER POINTS OF ACT. Guarantees are made to United States citizens or corporations for investments in projects in furtherance of the Act. The Administrator decides for each country how much assistance will be in cash grants or credit terms. He must act in consultation with the National Advisory Council.

BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL UNDERTAKINGS. "Such agreement shall provide for the adherence to the purposes of this Act and shall make appropriate provision, for:

1. Promoting industrial and agricultural production; submitting for approval of the administrator specific projects proposed by each country, which projects, whenever practicable, shall include projects for increased production of coal, steel, transportation facilities, and food.

2. Taking financial and monetary measures necessary to stabilize its currency.

3. Reducing barriers to trade among themselves and with other countries.

4. Making efficient and practical use of the resources which belong to the citizens of such country and which are situated within the United States."

APPROPRIATIONS. The Act calls for \$5.3 billion for one year; a report to be made by each country annually.

UNITED NATIONS. This bill authorizes the President to request the co-operation of services and facilities of the United Nations, its organs and agencies.

H.R.3999—Japanese Evacuation Claim Bill, which passed the House, can be passed in the Senate at any time. Write your own Senators. This bill would permit the Attorney General to receive claims for a period of eighteen months following enactment, and make awards, upon due ending, not to exceed \$2,500. These claims are for damage to or loss of real or personal property as a natural consequence of the evacuation.

Displaced Persons. The Stratton Bill will probably not be reported from committee. Action in this field will come next in the Senate. The General Assembly statement (1947) calls for the admission of 100,000 refugees and displaced persons each year for the next four years in addition to regular quotas. Write your Senator.

Housing. The details of the new housing bill are not obtainable as we go to press. Our information indicates that the quota for public housing will probably be cut. The General Assembly statement (1947) calls for an over-all housing program. This could provide housing, both private and public, at a range of prices to fit the need. It is important to get a copy of the new bill from your Senator as soon as available. Comparison with the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill of last year can be made by referring to the June, 1947, issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS. Express your views to your Senator.

Workshop

Go and See Conference, as told by Nancy Kressly.

During my two weeks in July at Labor Temple, the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations, in New York's lower east side, I settled down with ten others to a full schedule of "Go and See," of "talk it over," and of just plain work.

We got information on problems of management and labor, safety, housing, wages, discriminatory practices, and unions. We also learned about the representative government of our Presbyterian Church, and its other summer projects.

Two hours of our day were spent at hard labor. We scrubbed and rubbed the gym floor with steel wool, painted the gym walls and lines for the basketball court, plastered and painted the boys' and girls' locker rooms, and cleaned the front of the building with acid. Don't let us fool you. We enjoyed every moment of it, even though when we finished some of us couldn't be distinguished from the paint cans.

We took excursions to places where the problems of the classroom were met firsthand: New York Housing Authority, Lily Tulip Cup Company, Max Udell Men's Clothing Factory, CIO Local 65 and A. F. of L. Local 22 Headquarters. We also took in the offices of our Presbyterian Boards of National and Foreign Missions, and Henry Street Settlement.

I could write pages and pages more, but why should I when you can *go and see* and share the experiences *yourself!*

Write for information to the Department of Young People's Work, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Westminster Fellowship Features. Every year the National Council of Westminster selects three features as representative of the work done by the Board

of Christian Education, the Board of National Missions, and The Board of Foreign Missions. These features are promoted through special programs and projects by youth groups throughout the Church.

The 1948 Christian Education Feature is world order. It is especially recommended that Westminster Fellowship groups cooperate in setting up local and community conferences for the discussion of "the things which belong unto peace."

Helpful suggestions and useful materials for the study of world order may be obtained from the Division of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

A pamphlet outlining the Features for 1948 has been sent to ministers and youth leaders. Additional copies can be obtained from the Department of Young People's Work of the Board of Christian Education.

Interracial Note. In the Cotton Bowl football classic on January 1, 1948, Southern Methodist University set a precedent for the region by playing the team of Pennsylvania State College which included two Negroes. Both colored players participated in the game, one of them making the touchdown which tied the score, 13 to 13. Both were accorded every courtesy by the Texas team, a number of whose players extended to their Negro opponents personal greetings and congratulations.

Newcomers Welcomed. The newcomers' Christian Fellowship, organized and led by Pastor and Mrs. Frederick J. Forell, of the Presbytery of New York, is doing a remarkable work among those who, as displaced persons from war-devastated lands of Europe, sought refuge on our shores. Dr. Forell is himself a distinguished refugee from Germany and the

concentration camps. The Fellowship renders a quiet person-to-person service, making every effort to establish refugees in the life of our country. Many of these newcomers have skills which America can use. Some are linguists and artists, some are artisans in trades where skilled workers are in short supply, some have unique backgrounds in business affairs. The Forells would like to know of employment openings to which qualified newcomers may be recommended.

Aid for German Pastors. Dr. Frederick Forell, of New York, whose work with newcomers to this country has been noted above, is also the genial genius behind the Emergency Committee for German Protestantism which in 1947 sent aid to 1,200 pastors and their families. The committee functions by finding American sponsors for needy German pastors. It is estimated that \$10,000 a month in food and clothing is sent to families overlooked or unreached by other aid-distributing agencies. Every minister's family in our well-supported American Churches should "adopt" a German pastor and his family for the duration of the present emergency. Sunday School classes and Church groups should do what they can to assist our devoted German brothers.

Brotherhood in Action. "Adventures in Christian Fellowship" challenges young people throughout our Church! This contest, sponsored by the Departments of Young People's Work and Social Education and Action, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews, offers six awards of \$40 each to the groups that report by May 1 the most worth-while projects promoting tolerance and better understanding between people of different cultures, creeds, and races. Write to 1105 Witherspoon Building, Phila. 7, for new booklet which gives all details and resource materials.

Christian Citizenship. "Christian Citizenship in 1948" was the theme of a

group study in the Central Presbyterian Church of Summit, New Jersey, on January 21 and 27. The leader was Mrs. L. C. West, member of the Board of National Missions and a delegate to a Churchmen's Seminar held in Washington earlier in January. In the two study sessions Mrs. West interpreted her Washington experience and led the group in a discussion of current legislative issues in which the Church should have an interest.

SEA Committee Uses Questionnaire. The Social Education and Action Committee of the Synod of New Jersey used a questionnaire to discover the attitudes of members of the synod toward pending legislative issues. The questionnaire covered twelve items, including the Marshall Plan, the Stratton Bill on displaced persons, universal military training, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill, and the Fair Employment Practices Act. The returns indicated that the Churchmen of New Jersey strongly support the positions endorsed by recent General Assemblies of our Church. The U M T issue was hotly debated on the floor of the synod. When the vote was recorded, only 67 favored U M T while 243 opposed it. The results of the questionnaire and of synod actions were communicated to New Jersey Congressmen. Dr. John A. Reed, pastor of the Watchung Presbyterian Church of Bloomfield, and former mayor of the city, is chairman of the synod's S E A committee.

MOVIE WORTH SEEING

Gentleman's Agreement: Excellent situations and speeches exposing subtleties of anti-Semitic feeling. Improper use of "Christian"; unfortunate plea to "fight" rather than to understand and love. Dramatically weak; purposeless and tedious episodes; mediocre acting. Nonetheless, urge everyone to see it.

World Order

Church World Service. In 1947, American Protestant Churches sent \$14,500,000 in funds and relief commodities to Europe and Asia through their co-operative agency, Church World Service. This aid, which went to 43 countries, was a million dollars more than the amount provided in 1946, and represents the largest co-operative foreign relief achievement ever made by the American Churches.

Dr. A. Livingston Warnshuis, executive director of the agency, reports that emphasis was placed on strategic aid to those most in need, without reference to race or creed. Special attention was given to religious institutions in an effort to help them to become self-sufficient and able to render needed moral, social, and spiritual services in their communities.

An important work was carried on among refugees and displaced people. Nearly 1,170 displaced persons were helped to come to this country where they were established in 32 states and 124 U. S. communities.

Hundreds of letters from people who have been assisted by CWS funds and provisions testify to the remarkable efficiency and care with which the agency does fulfill its high commission.

World Food Council. To deal with the still desperate food situation in Europe, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations set up, in 1947, a new international body, the World Food Council. Made up of representatives from 18 nations, the new council takes over the work of the International Emergency Food Council, which was handicapped by its very limited authority and narrowly defined functions. The principal work of the World Food Council will be to recommend to Governments the allocations of scarce foods when the 1948 harvests be-

come available. Sir John Boyd Orr, of Great Britain, director general of FAO, affirms his belief in the new council: "The people of the world now know the council has been set up, and it will convey some hope that the food problem and the agricultural problem are going to be dealt with to the fullest extent possible. No council can create food in this emergency, but it can see that the available supplies are used wisely, and it can stimulate all possible steps for a bumper 1948 harvest."

Seeds for Peace. Hundreds of American children are co-operating this year in sending "gardens" to school children in war-devastated countries. The project of sending vegetable seeds to children overseas was initiated last year by the American Friends Service Committee. In 1947, more than 13,000 gardens were sent to Finnish children.

Each garden costs 50 cents. It is estimated that each package will plant a garden 30 by 40 feet, and will grow enough vegetables to supply five people, with some left over for canning. The project is one that will interest boys and girls in Churches throughout America.

Candles for Peace. In a little town in Czechoslovakia last December a group of teen-age girls lighted their Christmas candles and read their wishes:

"I wish that France would not have strikes or hunger."

"I wish that America and Russia would become reconciled."

"I wish that the Spanish people would not be ruled by a dictator, and would have a democratic republic."

"I wish that all the countries of the world would unite into one, and that there would never be another terrible war, and that every person could live free, not afraid of his future or his children's."

Study and Action



American Friends Service Committee

"Give Them This Day Their Daily Bread"

Tomorrow's peace will be in the hands of these 230,000,000 needy children of Europe and Asia.

Youth in America are helping them through a program developed by Church World Service (214 E. 21st St., N. Y. 10) and described in a pamphlet called *DO—TELL*.

TELL

*Of the suffering overseas
Food and clothing needed
The program of the Churches
The message of Christian love*

DO

*Interest newspapers, radio
Organize Church, school, youth groups
Collect clothing
Send packages*

About Books

The Christian Way in Race Relations, edited by William Stuart Nelson. Harper & Brothers, Publishers. \$2.50.

Here is a symposium on America's number-one problem—race relations. Thirteen Christian leaders have brought forth from the fiery crucibles of their hearts and minds an analysis and synthesis of this burning question.

The book is a co-operative enterprise of the Institute of Religion, sponsored by Howard University. The writers have been to the fore on this theme many times in the past, but never until now have we found them in one "Who's Who" on race relations. William Stuart Nelson opens with a chapter on "Crucial Issues in America's Race Relations Today," followed by a theological interpretation in "The Christian Way in Race Relations," by George D. Kelsey. Basic difficulties confronting the Christian way in the realms of economics, politics, and social practices are discussed by J. Neal Hughley, Arthur W. Hardy, and James H. Robinson.

Institutional resources and opportunities are presented by recognized spokesmen. The Church, Christian College, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and social and civic organizations engage in self-analysis through the able writing of Harry V. Richardson, William Lloyd Imes, Frank T. Wilson, Marion Cuthbert, and George Edmund Haynes. The obligations of the individual Christian are marshaled by Benjamin E. Mays. The outlook for the future is contained in two closing chapters by Howard Thurman and Richard T. McKinney. They deal with the judgment and hope in the Christian message and also in the nature of man and society.

Readers in general will find these writings basic to a sound philosophy and attitude regarding minority peoples. The

teacher and student will find rich resources for constructive study and discussion. As a program basis for group study and action it lends itself admirably. The minister should test his present opinions and attitudes in the light of these penetrating analyses. The public servant will be orientated to a more rightful attitude and given confidence to seek enlightened legislation. Minority group members will find their thinking disciplined, their actions elevated, their fears chastened, and their faith revived. The public institution will discover anew that the straight and narrow way of proper Christian race relations leads, not to friction and frustration, but to the revelation of the rich variety of gifts that all classes of humanity may bring to the sum total of social, educational, and institutional life.

Not all chapters are of equal merit or worth. Not all opinions expressed reflect perfect agreement. Not every section has value for all searching hearts and minds. But what does make the symposium valid and lifts it above the secular treatise is the solid rooting of every position within the Christian frame of reference. The Christian segment of society must lead the way into the new land of hope and promise for all people, revealing a true Fatherhood-Sonship-Brotherhood relationship. When the chasm separating creed from conduct is bridged, the Christian way in race relations will be the pattern for peace in this world and peace with God.

WILLIAM McCONAGHY

The Calculated Risk, by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

"To help Europe live and to strengthen the United Nations," are the two main objectives of American foreign policy today, says the editor of *Foreign Affairs*, us-

ing these as the titles and themes of the two essays which make up this small volume.

The author bewails the fact that the "everlasting no" of the Soviet Union has forced the United States to go outside the framework of the United Nations, although nowhere in his book does he suggest that Truman and Marshall might have strengthened the United Nations and the American position had they at least tried to move in Greek affairs and for the reconstruction of devastated Europe through the United Nations.

The menace of the Soviet Union and of communism to Europe gives the background to the entire volume. The author says the President and Secretary of State have the responsibility of defending American national interests all over the world "outside as well as within the area of instant national power." The United States and the U.S.S.R., he says, are measured in Europe today by their relative contributions to the improvement of the European economy rather than by their ideologies. Since the road to winning esteem is mainly material, the "advantage lies with us to the extent we choose to exercise it."

American foreign policy in the war and postwar years comes through uncriticized and unscathed. The Soviet Union emerges as the sole and utterly intractable and uncompromising antagonist. The support of the program of reconstruction in Europe is largely in terms of power politics, as resistance in a two-power world to Communist Russian advance. The possibility of gradual accommodation and agreement between the two world powers evidently seems to the author to be completely hopeless. His proposal to strengthen the United Nations seems to this reviewer to be rather an ingenious device to strengthen and defend the American national interest by establishing an anti-Soviet defensive alliance within the shadow, if not the framework, of the United Nations.

HUNTLEY DUPRE

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes, by John Hope Franklin. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.00.

Writing as a critical historian, and student of American history, Professor Franklin has produced a well-documented study of the American Negro that will be an invaluable reference book for ministers, teachers, and sociologists.

Yet in the scholar's pages one can sense the bruised spirit of people as they are driven in chains to the trading posts; as they are wracked with smallpox and flux on the crowded ships or as they leap into shark-infested waters; as laws are passed that make them the white man's uneasy domestic animals; as the white man vilifies their race lest they seem fit subjects for freedom; as the freedom that a war purchased eludes them; and as they are lynched, Jim-Crowed, covenanted against and ignored in order that they may "be kept in their places."

Dr. Franklin presents an awful indictment of the Christian Church merely by recording history. The earliest examples of the segregation of the Negro are to be found in practices in the Churches. In explaining why the institution of slavery was abolished in South America with comparatively little difficulty but was clung to fiercely in the United States, he lays chief blame upon the religious apologies made for slavery by our Churches. If the Church did this much to put the Negro where he is, then our religion, to prove efficacious, must restore him to his rightful place as a child of God.

GRAYDON E. McCLELLAN

Not by Might, by A. J. Muste. Harper & Brothers. \$2.50.

This book is an outline of the Christian pacifist program as a way out of our present dilemma. Too often content with generalities, we find the detailed exposition of a program refreshing.

Most of us admit, on historical and logical grounds, that pacifism is a true

expression of Christianity, but maintain that it isn't practical or possible at the present time. We then compromise by trying to take possible steps in the direction of the ultimate ideal. Muste feels that "a moderate or sensible program is psychologically unsound"; that people know the situation is desperate and will be moved only by a course of action that grapples with the basic problems in terms of a radically Christian answer. He develops in rather convincing fashion, but I for one am left with the feeling that true as it may be, there is little chance of this nation's offering itself up as the "suffering servant" for the salvation of mankind.

However, if Muste's call for hundreds of thousands of pacifists leading the nation to sacrifice itself to save the world is unrealistic, what is our alternative? We are all saying that the times call for the radical application of the Christian ethic but we continue to fail in telling what this means in specific situations.

For this reason Muste's book should be read widely.

HUBERT C. NOBLE

Soviet Russia Since the War, by the Very Reverend Dr. Hewlett Johnson. Boni & Gaer, Inc. \$3.00.

This book might well be retitled, "Through Russia with Rose-colored Glasses." According to Dr. Johnson, there is nothing wrong with Russia that time and peace will not correct.

The book is packed with "facts," but it is often difficult to discern the line drawn between accomplished fact and promised fact. For example: "A gigantic plan aims at the construction of 25,000,000 homes in ten years. Stalingrad families were already moving into new flats," is an obvious gap between promise and performance.

For the inquiring Christian, two big questions remain unsatisfactorily answered. First of all, is the Church free? Dr. Johnson says: "The Church accepted and welcomed a State Bureau on Church

Affairs, . . . supervising its correct and timely execution of the laws and the decisions of the Government." This does not sound like freedom in the ordinarily accepted sense of the word.

As to Soviet foreign policy, the charges of Russia's expansionism are dismissed with the statement that most of the territory acquired already belonged to Russia. The usual countercharges against United States expansion, as indicated by our retention of wartime-constructed military bases, are repeated in detail.

GANSE LITTLE

David Lilienthal, by Willson Whitman. Henry Holt and Company, Inc. \$3.00.

The critical question confronting mankind today is how atomic energy shall be controlled and used to benefit rather than destroy our civilization.

The selection of David Lilienthal as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission was a natural choice. His work in the Tennessee Valley Authority made possible the release of atomic energy. Now he is in charge of the program to develop its constructive use in peacetime. Walter Lippmann said, "Lilienthal is the only man in the United States who has ever administered such a big and special project."

The extensive report of the hearings before the Senate Commission, vindicating Lilienthal, and discrediting his critics, justifies the observation that Congress was on trial and not the man whose appointment was under consideration.

A statement by TVA's artist-photographer that in all the years at Knoxville he had never seen Lilienthal's Phi Beta Kappa key is more revealing than reams of reports on Senate hearings. Along with that unpretentiousness, his genuine liberalism, faith in democracy, experience as an administrator, and concern for the welfare of humanity instill the conviction that here is the man to manage the most important enterprise in the world today.

ALFRED B. WANGMAN

The Autobiography of William Allen White. The Macmillan Company.
\$3.75.

We see a young, slightly snobbish newspaperman, "blinded by his birthright," disdaining the political movement of protesting debtor farmers because they said "ain't" and wore unpressed trousers, gradually acquire a social conscience and become a leader of the Progressive Movement.

We see railroads and banks, through men specifically hired and staked for the purpose, control state politics and dictate the choice of United States Senators who were chosen by the state legislatures; and we see the people, in movements dubbed dangerously radical, seize for themselves some measure of this power.

We see mass production, made possible by ever-expanding rail transportation, push big business and finance into the ascendancy over small entrepreneurs, and then consolidate at successively higher levels. The Progressive Movement, under the leadership of Roosevelt (T. F.) and La Follette, restrained but did not stop the trend. Because William Allen White was an intimate of both men and a leader of the Movement, as well as an able reporter, he has probably given us the best account to date of the rise and fall of the Progressive Movement.

NEVIN KENDELL

How to Starve a Greek Town

(Continued from page 12)

Then they volunteered some information. Three men from the village were on the island of Crete, sentenced to fifteen years of exile. What for? For being against the return of the king, they said. The families of the three men were here, right here beside the jeep. One had five children. One had four. The other had three. Then they pushed forward the wife of one of the exiled men. She said her trouble

was that her husband wrote from Crete that he would starve unless she sent him food. Where was she to get food for her husband on Crete? And where was she to get food for herself and her three children? She said she would give her children away if she could in order to keep them from starving; then she started to cry.

"I love my children. You understand? I love them and don't want them to go away. But I can't see them starving. It hurts me inside worse than being hungry myself when they cry with hunger pains."

An old woman ran off down the street and then came back very much excited. She had four *Christos Anesti* (Christ is risen) red-dyed Easter eggs.

Before a *Christos Anesti* egg is eaten it is the custom to take it firmly in the right hand and bump the end against the end of someone else's egg. If you do it properly, you break the other man's egg without cracking your own. The man who comes through the holidays with an uncracked egg is the *Christos Anesti* champion, but the people who lose get a chance to eat their eggs. The whole village watched and the children laughed and clapped their hands while we bumped eggs. When the old woman with the hens wasn't looking we slipped our eggs into the pockets of several small children.

When we left, the whole village followed us to the edge of the hill and watched us start down into the valley. They asked us to promise them that we would "do something" for them. When they were out of sight I asked Griffin if he could think of anything we could do. Griffin didn't answer. He was staring off into space. I didn't say anything, but I was thinking a great many things.

I was thinking of the Truman Doctrine. I was thinking of the Golden Rule, which is sometimes practiced by individuals, but by nations, never. I was thinking of the title of a book a friend of mine in New York had just written. She was calling it, *Freedom Is a Nice Word*.

Here's What Readers Are Saying About

NO TRUMPET BEFORE HIM

The Westminster \$8,000 Prize Novel

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"I found it always interesting—a fine book for the whole family to read." *Rev. W.H.B., Michigan*

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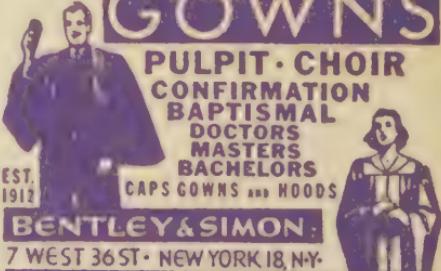
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Listen to the People, United Nations!

Only if peoples compel Governments to use the UN can it succeed.

*By Pearl S. Buck **



THREE comes a time when it is folly to suppress doubt and fear. Such a time is now. Ever since the San Francisco Conference the attitude of peoples in the world toward United Nations has been one of longing and determined hopefulness, increasingly shot through with fear. I have been and am one of those people. If it were a matter of me alone, I might deny myself the luxury of writing this article and so expressing my own doubts and fears and hopes. But a pile of letters on my desk, in addition to many spoken questions and conversations, convinces me that there is nothing peculiar about my present state of mind. It is shared by millions of people. Thus a recent letter from a Chinese friend inquires if I see any possibility of the present policy in China being modified by United Nations. He himself sees none, but he would like to think he is wrong. He is a Nationalist, a member of the Kuomintang party, but not of the smaller inner group that is profiting by the use of American dollars. He says:

"After watching the Wedemeyer mission we are convinced that its purpose is military. If a foreign war breaks out on our soil, our people will fight both sides. The United States will not only have to face the enemy alone, but will be attacked by Chinese from the rear. These will be, not Communists, but the majority of the Chinese people. The present trend toward war, fostered by the United States and Russia, is dangerously unrealistic. How is it that the American people do not know what is happening in their name? I wish there were some way of presenting the point of view of our people to United Nations, but I suppose they are powerless. Yet is there not the Security Council? Do you think it is altogether powerless?"

A letter from France: "How can the United Nations succeed when the greatest democracy on earth, only a few months after the war, has stopped lend-lease? When we were in the Resistance, fighting against the most cruel of all political regimes—Nazism—we were told that the Allies would re-

* From the October issue of *United Nations World*. Used with permission.

main united not only for victory but also for the reconstruction of a better world."

A letter from India puts the question thus: "We here think that the American atom bomb civilization is the great menace in the world today. There can be no hope of peace until this bomb is blasted away in the Atlantic Ocean. There the Atlantic Charter was sunk too, before it was scarcely born. Is there any remedy for our anxiety? Can any hope be put in United Nations? We are very fearful not."

And from Korea: "You know I speak for our people when I say we are sunk into despair. How hopefully we looked forward to our freedom and yet we are in worse condition today than ever before. How can we reach United Nations? Can peoples' voices be heard there? We are told it is no use."

From Germany: "But we are told that the voices of peoples cannot reach into United Nations any more than the voices of those who were locked in concentration camps could be heard outside. Can it be true?"

From Japan: "Can you tell me what is the true meaning of freedom and democracy? Will United Nations some time teach the world these two things? But we do not hear anything about the United Nations."

Ever-deepening Anxiety

Here in my own country, too, there is an ever-deepening anxiety over the very same question that distresses my friends abroad. The American people are heart and soul behind United Nations—they want it to succeed, but they don't know why it is not succeeding. Some people think it is because of the veto and Russia's stubbornness; some people have a disturbed feeling that the United States has something to do with it too. But they don't know. They feel helpless. They pour out letters to any well-known person, asking if there is something they can do. "Must we just sit and watch this last hope against war sink into weakness and die? What can we do?"

In some such disturbance myself, I went out to United Nations to take a look around. I talked to men from many countries. There are not many women in United Nations—plenty of them at home, of course, but not at Lake Success. After I had listened to the men, I was heartened by what they were but frightened by what they said. They all feel that UN is the last bulwark against war. Here are some of the things they said:

"When the UN ends, it is war."

"One cannot defend the Dutch behavior in Indonesia, and yet the truth of it is, they have come to believe that Indonesia is not going to be free anyway. The United States is planning to move right in, not to take the

Government, of course, but to capture the resources and take the trade. There's no freedom possible, perhaps. So the Dutch said, 'Why should not we keep it, after all we have done there?' It is difficult to say these things openly, but we'll have to find a way to do it, I suppose."

"The American people can afford to be idealistic because they are not hungry. Not being hungry, they cannot understand the rest of the world."

"Americans were angry with the Indian delegation because they sought Russian support for their case in South Africa. But Americans ought to remember that India went to Soviet Russia for support only when the United States refused it. That is a fairly general situation. The United States gets the first chance. When she refuses, Soviet Russia gets it. The more one refuses, the more the other gets."

"I'll tell you the difference between the Americans and the Russians. The Russians are afraid UN will hamper their policy, and the Americans want to make the UN the instrument to further their policy."

After some hours of this, I began to get more and more frightened. "Is UN doomed to fail?" I asked this question directly now. There seemed no use in hedging around any more.

Is There Still Time?

An intelligent, elderly statesman of Europe got the question first. He considered, and then he answered something like this:



American Friends Service Committee

"There is still time to make UN succeed, but I should say we are approaching the critical period, which may be a matter only of months. We are working under very primary handicaps. In the first place, our best men are dead. We cannot expect great men for a long time. Two wars have killed off our best. We must do with what we have.

"Secondly, we have the lack of co-operation between the two leading powers in the world. It is an immense obstacle. Perhaps we cannot surmount it.

"Thirdly, and this is most serious of all, the peoples of all countries, and especially of the United States and Russia, do not use United Nations. Let me repeat this important fact: The people have nowhere made their Governments use the United Nations."

I put the next question to these men in the UN: "But is there any way in which peoples can come direct to UN and speak for themselves? You must remember that in some countries the people are protesting against their own Governments, the very Governments who have seats here in UN. Is there no way for these people to reach UN directly and present their own case against a dictatorial Government?"

The answer to this was: There is no way in which individuals can present a case to the UN. There is no way in which a local organization of people within a nation can come direct to UN. Certain international organizations, however, have the privilege of direct approach, such as, for example, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Chamber of Commerce, etc.

Here, I feel, is a distinct defect in UN organization. I can see that this body cannot be at the mercy of individual complaints, but there should be some way in which a large enough number of people—say, in China or Soviet Russia or the United States or anywhere else—who feel that their Government is pursuing a policy disastrous to world security, could tell UN what they think and ask the Security Council to take notice.

At present the delegates are chosen in many ways, but none are really the representatives of the peoples. Sometimes a king just sends over some of his relatives, or, as in the United States, the President appoints the delegates and the Senate confirms—or does not.

I asked, "Isn't it possible for the people to choose, say, two out of the five delegates now appointed by the Government?" The answer to this was unanimous. "Quite possible—if people will wake up and demand it. It is easily possible, at the very least, to have the representatives chosen by the peoples' elected representatives instead of appointed by someone in the Government."

The People Must Wake Up

There it was again—the people have to wake up! Just as I found hope and doubt among people about UN, I found in UN doubt and hope about the peoples.

What is the matter with the world? On the wall of one of the offices that I visited there is tacked a photograph cut out of a magazine. It is the only picture on that undecorated wall. It shows two little American boys, scarcely more than babies. One of them is weeping most bitterly. He is empty-handed. The other one, a long-lashed, beautiful child, wears on his face a look of angelic calm. There is no sign that he hears his weeping neighbor, or even knows he exists. In each hand this bland child holds an ice-cream cone, his own and his neighbor's. He is eating both, licking them with profound enjoyment. This is the world.

The UN Concept

The concept of UN is exactly the opposite. It is designed to keep little boys from taking ice-cream cones away from other little boys. It is planned so that co-operation and not competition will be the order of the world. The concept is profound and large, but it is simple and practicable. Of course small boys must be cured of the desire to snatch ice-cream cones from others. They may even have to be punished. The UN has not yet been given—or it has not devised—a way of punishing small boys. Something has to be done about that.

Will the UN live? I do not know because I do not know whether the peoples will insist upon its being kept alive. If they do not insist, I fear the Governments may kill it.

To the people who have asked many questions, and this includes myself, I can only say, the UN is full of potential good for the future of the world. It is good enough to live, to grow, to become what we need, a talking place for many points of view, a place for compromise and agreement, a place to seek justice and find it, a means of peace. Yes, I believe it can be made into an instrument for permanent peace. But this will come to pass only if the peoples insist upon it and compel their Governments to use UN as it can and should be used.

We believe the foreign policy of the United States should be based upon the determination to achieve peace through developing the United Nations rather than upon unilateral diplomacy based upon national military might.

—From *Statement of Church People Conferring on World Peace*,
Washington, D. C., April 6, 7, 1948.

Food Is to Eat

*By Florence Reynolds **

PEOPLE are discouraged; they're losing faith; they're losing hope. The great question mark: Is the UN failing? What are they doing besides meeting up there at Lake Success and fighting with one another? Is there any result? Are they accomplishing anything? Before I finish, I hope that I shall show you that at least one part of the UN is doing more than just meeting and talking.

When the UN Food and Agriculture Organization was created, it was based on rather a different principle: that needs of mankind must motivate everything we do. That's a revolutionary idea, whether you know it or not. Food is not something that is produced to be sold in the market place. Food is something to eat! Now, our economic structure is based on the theory that food is grown to be sold. And because we have had that idea very firmly in our minds, and we operate that way, we've got ourselves into trouble.

We have progressed scientifically so that the farmers of the world know how to produce all the food that is needed to feed all the people on the face of the earth. Yet two thirds of the world's people have never had enough to eat. Also, two thirds of the world's people are farmers, and we just can't put those facts to-

gether reasonably. The majority of the world's people are farmers; farmers know how to produce all the food that we need, and yet the majority of the people have never had enough to eat. There's something radically wrong.

Well, that's FAO's job—to find out what's wrong and to change it. We must first find out what needs to be done to produce more food for more people. Clearly, we have to advance the knowledge of the underdeveloped or backward areas; we must show them how by the use of fertilizers, insecticides, farm machinery, and so on, they can greatly increase the output. However, if we just increase the food production, without doing anything about the rigid economic system under which we live, we're only going to compound the great problem of food surpluses. Because, mind you, we are still producing for the market. We haven't changed our psychology. Therefore, simultaneously, we must work on increasing the market.

The question comes up, Why don't these people who need the food buy the food? Well, of course the answer is easy. They don't buy our surplus foods, they don't buy the food they need—the starving Indians, the starving Chinese—simply because they have no money. So instead of exercising our human ingenuity on

* From a speech given at a Washington Seminar, February, 1948.

restriction programs, why not turn our inventive genius to expanding the market? In other words, find a way whereby these people can earn some money so they can buy what is supposedly surplus. The minute we do that we will never see a surplus of any food in our time. The market is so great it is almost beyond belief.

Now, FAO must put the two sides of this problem together. In the first place, food shortage is world-wide. One out of every two persons in the world really is at a hunger level. That's a shocking thing! So FAO finds we have to attack the problem of the world food shortage at the world level. For too many centuries we've been trying to attack it at the national level. Each nation has been trying to solve the problems of the world within its own boundaries, and we know what happens. The American farmers grow too much wheat—too much for their own stated market, the market available to them. The price drops—the bottom falls out of their market—farmers can't sell anything. They've invested everything in growing that wheat, and then they're left holding the bag! So we set up a commodity credit corporation and we buy off the surplus and we put up tariffs and we get quota restrictions—all in good faith and all things which we absolutely have to do if we're operating on our own. Because what would the farmers do otherwise? But everything that is done within a country seems to have

a bad effect on the struggle that the other countries are having with the same problem. So we're trying to bring them together in FAO where fifty-five nations can meet in conferences, sit down around a table, discuss their common problems. If there is a soils problem, it extends throughout an area covering several nations. It's geography, it's ocean currents, it's climate, none of which respect national boundaries. The locusts don't stop at the boundary line where the travelers have to stop to show their visas. Because locusts don't ask for visas, they just go through.

Secretary Marshall then came out with his proposal which essentially was the same thing except a little broader scope, because it wasn't only food and agriculture, but it was also industry. And because the United States is big and powerful and wealthy, it is able to put the one thing that UN agencies can't put into such a program, and that's the American dollar. Now all the Marshall Plan countries are members of FAO. All the eastern European countries are members of FAO. We sit in our regional office in Rome and say why shouldn't we give all our facts and figures to Poland and Czechoslovakia—aren't they member countries of FAO? Of course they are. So we make everything that we have gathered available to the eastern European countries. Simultaneously, and with equal fervor, we hand over

everything we've got to the Marshall Plan countries.

Something not generally known about the Marshall Plan countries is that in calculating their needs in Paris they counted to a very large extent on the restoration of agricultural food trade between eastern Europe and western Europe. And if it doesn't come about, there's going to be a serious dislocation on sources of supply in other parts of the world. So we are counting strongly on a return to the historic trade between the bread basket of Europe and the western nations which are principally industrialized.

Now FAO holds that it will meet

with both sides, supplying factual, worth-while information and bringing them together at regular intervals so that they can face each other—and they do! They have met again and again. These food ministers know one another now by their first names; they've come to be friends through working together. So there's a much greater chance of lessening the chasm that has grown up politically between the two areas. We hope, if we don't slip on our very important job, that we can help to contribute to the holding together of Europe, because both sides are members of FAO and both sides will have access to everything we have.

Truman Doctrine Is Not the Road to Peace *

That Russia was terribly impoverished by the war is admitted by all competent observers, although the propaganda that immediately started in this country glossed over this fact and gave the American people the impression even then that Russia might attack us at any moment. . . . The Kremlin plainly needed an "enemy" if it was to justify to the Russian people their appalling condition, which included in many parts of the country semistarvation. It seems to me, therefore, that the Truman Doctrine has played into Russia's hands.

Mayor LaGuardia said before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "We can lick Communism in this world by making democracy work, by proving to the world that people can live properly and decently." Our fundamental error I believe was that of basing our foreign policy on the fallacious military theory that "the Russians will recognize nothing but force." It is now plain that the Russians do not recognize force, either; and policies based on the supposition that they would have consequently failed. It is not in the military field but in the economic field that our success in promoting world peace will lie.

This is what people supposed the Marshall Plan meant when it was first proposed on June 5, 1947. We thought it indicated a new and constructive direction given to our foreign policy. Unfortunately, the military have captured it and made it a definite part of our "cold war" against Russia.

Herbert Morrison, Deputy Prime Minister of Great Britain, said: "If we demonstrate a working model of a healthy democracy based on a healthy economic, social, and political system, the overwhelming majority of mankind will do their utmost to imitate us and to follow our lead."

* Testimony of Frederick J. Libby before Senate Armed Services Committee, March 23, 1948.

Prepare for Peace

By Norman Thomas

From a speech at Wooster College, Ohio, March 5, 1948.

IF YOU'RE preparing for war, you're preparing for war. I've got the impression in innumerable debates, some of them with high officials of the War Department, that hardly anybody in America really believes that UMT is what they want. The kinds of wars that we are going to have to wage, if we wage war, will not be waged by men who are graduates of Fort Knox.

I'm very much interested at the way proponents want to prove that the majority is for UMT and hence it's right. Now, I'm a pretty good little "d" democrat, and I admit the necessity of majority rules. But I've been in a minority too long to be persuaded that a thing is right because the majority says so—even in land-grant colleges which get their money from the Government! I thought we'd followed teachings of the Bible long enough to share the general belief that broad is the way that leads to destruction and narrow is the road that leads to righteousness. Think that over when you quote these Gallup polls to us all the time. I cannot argue a great issue of life and death on the basis of a change of a Gallup poll.

We're in a world so dangerous that any war is defeat. How grave

the defeat is I don't pretend to know. I read a hopeful note in *The New York Times*: The amoeba will live! And the scientists speculated that the amoeba might do better on a second start in evolution than on the first. We laugh, don't we, that we may not weep.

I do not apologize for taking my stand that the prevention of war is essential. And I want to examine the expenditure of from one billion to five billion dollars on UMT with a view to its effect on war itself, on the psychology that leads to war, on the preparation for war.

Let's look at what history, logic, and psychology tell us of the past. The modern form of peacetime conscription goes back to Napoleon and the Prussians. Europe has had the blessings of conscription ever since. It has never prevented any war; it has never guaranteed victory in war; it hastened the coming of World War I, and it hastened the coming of the totalitarian state. Lloyd George said that the nations stumbled and blundered into World War I, that a sober second thought might have saved them. But Europe could mobilize too fast—no time for second thought. Those men didn't love war—they accepted it. They'd been conditioned

at eighteen to accept it. The only exceptions were England and America. And the only two that won both world wars were England and America. That's queer, isn't it?

No nation has ever had universal military training for long without the temptation to go the way of the totalitarian state. I doubt whether we would have had the totalitarian state in its Russian, Italian, or German form; I doubt that we would have had the French bureaucracy in its French form, except for the conditioning of men by generations of peacetime military conscription. Are we different from them? The Japanese were so peace-loving that they were a hermit nation. The Germans in the time of Beethoven were considered peace-loving. What changed them? Peacetime military conscription more than anything else. Shall we start it now, and why? Will it avert war? Do you think if Stalin isn't afraid of our Navy, of our atomic bomb, our aviation, that he's afraid of Camp Knox?

It is true that the chief danger to world peace comes from Russia. But there are people in America who love arms and the profits from arms. There are people in America who love the drumbeat, and you cultivate all that when you introduce this form of militarism. The whole history of Europe proves that fact. You make war very likely and you give us no real protection.

There is an alternative in my

judgment worth thinking about. The one thing that may save mankind in time would be universal disarmament. Not unilateral but universal disarmament. This would mean the universal abolition of peacetime military conscription; the demilitarization of narrow waterways and island bases; the reduction of arms to a level necessary for internal police work; the constitution of an international armament authority to guide, control, prevent the making of weapons of mass destruction. Let the world adopt this and a new hope will come to men. And without it there isn't hope.

I'm not saying that disarmament alone will save us. Nothing will save mankind except the steady march toward a fellowship of free men harnessing their marvelous technology to life and not death. Nothing will save us, except the effort to make justice cover the earth as waters cover the sea. But we can avert war, we can gain time, we can free men's minds from the desperate preoccupation of competitive armament races, if we can get universal disarmament.

What I have wanted my country to do ever since V-E Day was to make the kind of appeal that never yet has been made. We've talked disarmament—we've never tried it really. Suppose now the United States would say: "Peoples of the world, we have got to get rid of this race in armaments as we love life and have hope of progress. Therefore, we Ameri-

cans, temporarily the most powerful of nations, stand ready for universal disarmament and we stand ready for those controls which are necessary for universal disarmament."

Oh, you'll say, "But Russia won't agree." I don't believe Stalin would agree instantly. We don't know till we've tried. But, alas, I know that there are thousands of Americans who in their own heart have the hate, the passion for profit, the desire for jobs that militarism feeds on. There are lots of Americans who make Russia an excuse. I think Stalin would say, "Yes, we want disarmament, but we won't accept control." What then, for the United States? Then the United States would have launched an idea in the world. The United States has to answer before the judgment power of history and God for launching the atomic bomb. I won't argue the question—we did it. What are we going to do by way of amends? What idea is equal to the atomic bomb in the world? That idea might be the idea of disarmament. Peoples would listen; even the Russian people would hear. Today, with some reason, the Russians are afraid of us. What is our military doing in Turkey across the mountains from their oil wells. The colored races of the world, who have reason to be suspicious of the quality of our democracy, will have new hope when we speak up—we, the practitioners of white supremacy—and are willing to lay down arms in

UMT No Defense

By Robert M. Hutchins *

I OPPOSE universal military training on the ground that as a military measure it is absurd. And if you ask how a layman, whose only military experience was that of a private in the First World War, can contradict the leading military experts on a military matter, I reply that they contradict themselves, for they first show that universal military training is a military anachronism which will weaken the nation, and then demand such training in the name of military strength.

The generals and admirals all insist on the rapidity of technical change. Then they insist that men trained with old weapons are going to be effective in using entirely new weapons. They prove that there is no defense against the atomic bomb, and then ask for an enormous army to defend us against it. They demonstrate that the strength of the country depends on its industrial power and scientific intelligence, and then advocate a system which will give us less industrial power and less scientific intelligence, for it will interrupt the training of men for science and industry.

* Used with permission of *The Christian Advocate*.

a disarmed world. There could be a new atmosphere at home and abroad. We would purge ourselves of the temptations to militarism and to imperialism. We would have a new record in the world if we would make that appeal.

A "Little" UN in Your Town

By Emily Hickman *

Club President: How I'd like a world that knew how to live together peaceably and didn't have to fear war all the while! Our club must know more about what is being done on this matter now, since the last war.

International Relations Chairman: If we can interest our own members, perhaps we can interest other local clubs. If we get everybody in town interested, we might build the program into a community project. Everybody wants peace. First we must know what is being done about it.

President: The Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations says that we have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish "these aims": save human beings from war; bring about conditions essential to peace; promote respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without discrimination; and provide a center where nations may act harmoniously to attain these aims. Now, how is the United Nations set up to handle these assignments? The General Assembly is important. Mrs. A, will you tell us about it?

General Assembly

Mrs. A: Each of the fifty-five member nations has a delegation to the Assembly which regularly meets once a year. The Assembly does not

make laws for the world. Perhaps someday we shall want it to—at least on some matters. Today the Assembly is a forum for the discussion of international problems and recommendations for dealing with human relationships. Let's see what the last Assembly discussed.

1. What can be done for 800,000 persons uprooted by war.
2. The shortage of food; famine conditions in India and China.
3. The economic reconstruction of devastated areas and what can be done to increase their production.
4. What can be done about special care for the children and adolescents.
5. How to speed establishment of the World Health Organization.
6. What can be done to help on the housing problems of devastated and underdeveloped areas.
7. What can be done to further freedom of information, the right to gather, transmit and publish news without any fetters.

President: Mrs. B, how is the Assembly—a big meeting in session only once a year—going to be able to do anything about all these things?

Economic and Social Council

Mrs. B: I have been looking up the Economic and Social Council. It will help the Assembly with a good deal of this work. It is made up of eighteen nations elected, for periods of three

* From *Agenda*, May, 1947. Used with permission.

years, by the Assembly. Each nation appoints its representative. The United States is a member. The Council's business is to see how international machinery can be used for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. It can call international conferences when necessary. It can gather the facts on a problem and study them. It can recommend to the Assembly. The Economic and Social Council has nine commissions of its own, but we have time to talk about only three of them. First is the Economic and Employment Commission.

Economic and Employment Commission

Mrs. C: This commission is to advise on how to prevent wide fluctuation in the economic activity in the world and how to promote full employment; on how to further the reconstruction of the devastated areas; and how to promote the economic development of all areas.

Commission of Human Rights

Mrs. D: The next commission is on human rights, of which Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is the chairman. The charter gives the right to initiate studies and make recommendations to assist in the realization of human rights and the fundamental freedoms. The commission will make recommendations concerning an international bill of rights. For the

first time, a general international agreement embodies the principle that there are human rights so basic and so universal that they are not only the heritage of all men and the responsibility of all Governments but also the concern of an international organization to preserve peace and security.

Commission on Status of Women

Mrs. E: This commission began as a subcommission. It will continue the work, begun under the League of Nations, of studying the actual legal position of women in the world to-day. Because little can be done to improve the status of women unless they have political rights, this subject may be given priority.

Other Commissions

Mrs. B: If we had time, we would talk about the Transport and Communications Commission, which deals with aviation, telecommunications, postal, inland transport and shipping—all with international aspects. The Statistical Commission plans how to get uniform statistics for all the nations so that we can really have world statistics. Then there's the Social Commission working on vice problems, traffic in women and children. The Population Commission studies important changes in population. There is also the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which supervises the regulation of

traffic in narcotics, and there is a Fiscal Commission. In March, the Economic and Social Council created the Economic Commission for Europe. Its job will be to study and recommend ways to rebuild European economy.

President: Mrs. B, you leave me breathless. I had no idea the United Nations was interested in all these questions. I wonder what it is not interested in. But isn't it wonderful and hopeful that we are all working together to find out what the problems of our world are and what can be done about them? Think of all the people working on commissions.

Mrs. B: Yes, there are some 3,000 people working in the United Nations. Its budget for 1947 will be about 27½ million dollars. The United States is asked to pay about 40 per cent of that.

President: We must go on to the Trusteeship Council, which reports to the Assembly.

Trusteeship Council

Mrs. F: It is the body through which the United Nations exercise their responsibility for the dependent peoples of the world, which is about one quarter of the earth's inhabitants. More and more today they are being recognized as entitled to the concern of the international world.

The two chief classifications of dependent peoples and territories are the former mandated territories of the League of Nations and the ter-

ritories to be taken away from the defeated empires in World War II. The Trusteeship Council is to ensure that dependent peoples in territories under its supervision live under arrangements which promote their welfare. In case a controlling nation feels that a trust territory is very strategic to its defense, it may place the control of this territory under the supervision of the Security Council.

It is in this way that the United States is proposing to hold the former Japanese mandated islands. One might wish that the United States had not made the entire area a strategic one but had limited that designation of specific bases.

President: In an age blessed far beyond all other ages in knowledge and ability to produce food and goods, we need this great organization to make it possible for human beings to have the benefit of all the world's knowledge and ability. How can we all work together to take the creative ability of our highly advanced day and turn it into good for all? The UN Assembly can certainly point the way.

The two other main bodies of the United Nations seem to be the Security Council and the International Court of Justice. Mrs. G will tell us about the Security Council.

Security Council

Mrs. G: The council deals with disputes or situations that may endan-

ger peace and security, and attempts to conciliate the differences involved. It also deals with actual occurrences of violence and may repress force by force if necessary. Its duty it to exercise a continuing surveillance of international relations for any evidence of dangerous situations. It has power to investigate any dispute or any situation that might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute. The council itself may decide to deal with dangerous situations, or any member of the United Nations may bring such situations to its attention.

Advising the Security Council is the Military Staff Committee composed of the chiefs of staff of the permanent members of the Security Council, the five great powers.

A second commission which reports to the Security Council is the Atomic Energy Commission, which was established to draw up proposals for the control of atomic energy weapons. It recommended strong international control of atomic energy by means of a treaty between all member nations to establish an international authority to prevent the manufacture and use of atomic bombs; to develop atomic energy for social gain; to establish international inspection; to prohibit the possession of atomic weapons and to provide for the disposal of any existing stocks of atomic bombs.

A new commission of the Security Council is the Commission on Con-

ventional Armaments, which is to draw up plans for regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces, and for the observance of these regulations by all nations.

President: The next principal organ of the United Nations is the International Court of Justice. Mrs. H, you are interested in courts.

International Court

Mrs. H: All members of the United Nations are members of the court. Each member agrees to comply with the decisions of the court; if a member does not comply, the other party in the case may take the matter to the Security Council for action. The court meets at The Hague. It has fifteen judges. They do not represent member nations, however. The court considers only cases between nations. These cases involve the interpretation of a treaty, any question of international law, determining whether there has been a breach of an international obligation and, if so, what the reparation should be.

President: We have learned quite a lot about the different bodies of the United Nations and something about what each of them is trying to do. We've learned enough to know that the United Nations is trying to build up one world of nations aiming to keep the peace, each nation knowing that it needs the good of all for its own good. That is what we hoped it would do and let's keep informed about it. Thank you all.

*You'd Think We Were on the Edge of War! **

THE little group of travelers sat in the lounge car as the train sped westward. They listened, soberly, to the radio report of the day's news. At the end of the broadcast the Man with One Arm reached up and shut off the instrument. He was young, and the empty sleeve looked out of place on his broad chest. His face was troubled, and he sighed.

"It scares me," said the Man with One Arm simply. "The way these diplomats scream at each other and call each other names, you'd think we were on the edge of war. You'd think," said the Man with One Arm, "we hadn't had enough war for a while."

The Man in the Pin-Stripe Suit cleared his throat importantly. He was more portly in build, and his hair was graying, but he had a healthy, well-washed and well-fed look.

"It's Russia," said the Man in the Pin-Stripe Suit. "It's impossible to get along with those Russians. They want to rule the world."

"Does everybody want to rule the world?" asked the Man with One Arm. "Before it was the Germans, and the Japanese. Then they wanted to rule the world—or so everybody said. Now it's the Russians. Do we have to go on through eternity fighting off people who want to rule the world?"

The Man in the Pin-Stripe Suit sighed gustily.

"I know it's hard for you young fellows," he said. "Right back from the war and all. But facts are facts, and there's no blinking them. And it's a fact that if we don't watch our step, those Russians'll be jumping on us one of these fine days and we'll be licked before we know we're in a fight. Why, they've got an army four times as big as ours right now! Four times, mind you! It's about time we were adopting this Universal Military Training thing. That'll teach the Russians we mean business!"

The Little Old Lady with the knitting looked up sharply. "Facts sometimes are not what they seem. Had you studied your history you would know that the Russians have always had a large army in comparison with those of other nations, since they also have the largest land mass of any nation, one sixth of the earth's surface, with common frontiers with many other countries."

"I don't see that history makes Russia any less of a threat today," said Pin-Stripe Suit stubbornly. "It is still true that they have four million men in their army."

"And how," asked the Little Old Lady, "do they get their four million men over here? Russia has almost no navy, and the United States has a navy larger than all others in the world combined. Do the Russian armies swim?"

Pin-Stripe grinned triumphantly. "Perhaps you haven't heard," he said politely, "of a new invention called the airplane?"

The Little Old Lady was unperturbed. "Indeed I have," she said, "and I have also heard of transpolar flights. But I have yet to hear of mass armies being transported across thousands of miles of ocean or ice. Moreover, I am told that the Russian air force is much inferior to the American¹ in quality of planes. Much more important than these, however, is the matter of industrial production. Surely everyone knows that primarily it was America's industrial production that won the war, and that no other nation on earth—certainly not Russia—can rival that production for years to come."

"You have any facts to back up that last statement?" asked the Man with One Arm.

* From the National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

¹ Hanson Baldwin, *The New York Times*, July 17, 1947.

"Russia had almost half her industrial capacity destroyed in the last war," announced the Little Old Lady. "They say it will be 1950 before Russia reaches the level of steel production this country achieved in 1913, and her industrial production would be insufficient to support a war against us for at least 25 years."²

"Even so," said Pin-Stripe doggedly, "we can't go on letting the Russians expand into other countries, and vetoing everything we suggest in the United Nations, and making these threats and all."

"Now, there I disagree with you," argued the Man with One Arm. "If I remember correctly, the veto was an American idea at least as much as it was Russian. And it seems to me that this 'get-tough' policy doesn't really do much good. Didn't they say the Truman Doctrine, which certainly was 'getting tough,' would strengthen Marshall's hand when he went to the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow? And didn't he come back from that conference with absolutely nothing accomplished? And how about the most recent conference in London? Nothing accomplished there either, though we've been following a 'get tough' policy for months."

"And what would you suggest?" asked Pin-Stripe. "Appeasement?"

"Not on your life," shot back the Man with One Arm. "But it's like this. Communism is primarily an idea. People take to it when they're discouraged and hungry and convinced that other ideas—like democracy—are a fake and a fraud. If there's got to be a struggle between totalitarianism and democracy, it will be won or lost in men's minds, not on a battlefield. It will be won by democracy if we convince men that our words about freedom are not empty, and as we help them to free themselves from hunger and despair. It will not be won," said the young man firmly, "by adopting the same kind of militarism that has been the curse of Europe for centuries! Of that I am certain!"

There was a long silence, which was broken at last by a Man with Horn-rimmed Glasses, who had not spoken before. "I'm a scientist. I have listened with great interest to your discussion. I am in complete agreement with what this lady and young man have said, though I was surprised that in her inventory of military strength our friend here did not mention the fact that we have the atomic bomb. And the fact that we have it, and continue to manufacture it makes us look a tremendous threat to other nations, especially Russia. But it is not another nation that is our enemy today, but war itself. Our need now is peace—lasting peace—the abolition of war. We must think of peace, talk peace, work for peace. We must seek ways of doing away with military conscription all over the world—not letting it spread to this country! We must work for reconciliation between nations, and disarmament and peace. You cannot prepare at the same time for war and for peace. That is impossible."

The lounge car was silent. The faces of all who had listened were sober. At last the Man with One Arm stood up.

"I saw Hamburg after it was bombed," he said quietly. "That wasn't an atom bomb, but it was bad enough. There were children—not German, not enemy—just children. I swore then that I would give the rest of my life to seeing that nothing like that could happen again. I think the Scientist is right. I don't think we can survive another war—any of us—and I think this so-called military training is a step in the direction of war. . . . They left me only one hand, but I have as strong a voice as ever, and I'm beginning now to tell everybody I know to oppose this UMT. I suggest you folks do the same. Good night!"

² Washington Post, September 19, 1947.

Woman's Work Is Never Done

*By Elizabeth S. Magee **

THE Female Labor Reform Association in Massachusetts a little over a century ago presented petitions to the legislature urging the passage of a law "providing 10 hours shall constitute a day's work." This led to the first governmental investigation of labor conditions in the United States. A long struggle ensued, until finally in 1874 a law was passed limiting the hours for women in manufacturing in Massachusetts to 10 a day and 60 per week. This was the first effective law in the United States controlling the hours of women's employment.

Our situation today compared with one hundred years ago shows a great progress, but it is not enough. Only 24 states and the District of Columbia have an 8-hour day or a 44- to 48-hour week. A 10-hour day with a 54- to 60-hour week is the limit in seven states, while in Alabama, Florida, Iowa, Indiana, and West Virginia, there are no limits. There are 26 states with minimum-wage laws; 22 states without. All these laws leave many women without coverage. Hotels, hospitals, and other institutions have resisted regulation successfully in many states. Industrialized agriculture, canneries, fruit and vegetable packing sheds, and

domestic service are practically without standards.

One of our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations is to see that the standards and policies adopted by the International Labor Organization become implemented throughout our country. The ILO conventions include such basic standards as the 8-hour day, minimum wage, protection of youth against hazardous occupations.

I profoundly wish that more national women's organizations, civic and religious groups would take a position on such a basic measure as the Fair Labor Standards Act, the amendment of which is now under consideration by the Congress. A realistic minimum hourly rate should be substituted for the 40 cents now in effect, and long obsolete because of a postwar inflation and increases in the cost of living. When conditions urgently require an increase in the legal minimum wage, it should be unnecessary to have Congressional action to make the adjustment. The statutory rate should be a floor, but not a ceiling.

The act should be widened in its coverage to include all the workers for whom the Congress has power to legislate. Among the exemptions that should be eliminated are those applying to seamen, workers in sea-

* General Secretary, National Consumer's League.

food canneries, cotton gins, butter and cheese factories, industrialized agriculture, and chain stores.

The child-labor provisions of the act should be strengthened by a direct prohibition of child labor instead of the roundabout provision that goods on which child labor has been employed cannot be shipped in interstate commerce within thirty days after production—a provision easy to evade. The coverage should be extended to include children in interstate occupations, such as telephone and telegraph companies, railroads, trucking, and boats.

Senator Elbert D. Thomas, of Utah, has introduced a bill (S. 2062) including these important changes and providing for a 75-cent minimum wage and a 40-hour basic week with overtime provisions.

A large employer recently stated

the role that minimum wage should play in this period: "After the last war, it was common practice to cut wages in order to procure specific orders at narrowing margins. This was frequently offered to labor as an alternative to idleness, and finally wound up in a deflationary spiral which brought the average wage in the country to such a low level that the entire economy almost became stalled. No thinking businessman would like to risk such a spiral for the 1950 decade. The surest way to avoid a recurrence of such tragic happenings would be a revision upward of minimum wage levels to bear some reasonable relationship to labor's present living costs."¹

¹ From a statement filed by J. Spencer Love, President of the Burlington Mills, North Carolina, with the House Committee on Education and Labor.

CAN YOU AFFORD THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING?

Is your income above \$3,200?

Then you can afford a modest living standard.

Here are some of the things you can have:

Meat several times a week.

Movie once in 3 weeks.

Vacation trip every 3 or 4 years.

Wife: 4 dresses, 3 pairs of shoes a year; heavy coat every 4 years; beauty parlor every 3 months.

Husband: 5 shirts, 2 pairs of shoes a year; 2 suits every 3 years; haircut every 3 weeks.

60 per cent of American families make less than \$3,000.

The median in 1945 was \$2,379.

25 million families cannot afford the modest standard.

Modest standard has gone up \$650 since price control lapsed.

To maintain the same standard as in 1946 requires \$12.50 a week more.

For Time

Setting the Stage

The text of the "stopgap" draft is not available, but its dangerous design is appearing in the Senate Hearings. The "stopgap" draft will, on careful study, look very much like the full wartime variety. It will doubtless limit the period of inductions and set ceilings to total strength. Such ceilings have already been recommended—and regularly revised upward!

If the draft is fastened upon us, we may expect to see these ceilings steadily increased to the limit of our man power pool, and the induction period extended until the next war! When have military leaders been satisfied with less than all they could get of either man power or matériel?

The Presbyterian Church opposes peacetime military conscription. It supports the volunteer system. The Army has failed to democratize its forces; refused to accept 18-month enlistments (authorized by law); raised its entrance grade from a wartime 59 to 30; and is turning down about half of those that volunteer. The citizen must judge whether the failure of the volunteer system to produce the soldiers needed is due to inefficient administration or to the fact that its administration is in the hands of those who are determined to have the draft. Neither of these explanations is sufficient to justify giving this enormous power and surrendering so much of our freedom to the military in a peacetime draft. With the draft and/or UMT, the stage is set for disaster.

Bankruptcy of Policy

Our record in dealing with critical situations is not reassuring, especially now that the "get-tough" policy is bearing fruit under the cultivation of the Department of Defense and the favor of the Administration. Consider Czechoslovakia. The critical and generally unknown factors in this tragic case are condensed in Thomas J. Hamilton's dispatch to *The New York Times* of March 12. M. Masaryk discussed the possibility of a Communist crisis just a few weeks before his death with an intimate who could not be identified for obvious reasons. He said: "M. Masaryk felt strongly that Czechoslovakia had to get food or starve and that assistance from the U. S. would help him and other friends of democracy to keep the Communists from getting complete control. This meant that Czechoslovakia had to have help from somewhere, and M. Masaryk spent much of the time while he was in the U. S. last fall in an effort to get it from the U. S."

"He said resignedly a few weeks before his death: 'The United States treats us as though we had already been sold down the river, but we

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haven't yet.' We were told over and over that either we would get completely in the Marshall Plan or we would receive nothing whatever.'

"With no help in sight from the United States, the Soviet Union ostentatiously announced that it would provide 400,000 tons of wheat, and M. Masaryk feared that the help from the Soviet Union would strengthen the Communists."

The fall of M. Masaryk and Czechoslovakia has been used as evidence of the need now for a "get tougher" policy with Russia. The advice of the Doctors of Diplomacy is as reassuring as that of a physician who treats the dangerously worsening condition of the patient under his care by prescribing the same "tough" medicine—only in larger doses! The bankruptcy of a "get tough" policy of political "realists" is further documented by the record in China and Greece. In Greece the Truman Doctrine implemented by weapons of war was opposed by two thousand guerrillas. After five months there were 20,000 Greek guerrillas in the hills, according to our own Government report!

In view of the tragic failure of our foreign policy and the **Christian Policy** recognition of our own great inadequacy in formulating policy, this Division called a conference of Christian Policy to project a program to inform and enlist Christians for action before it is too late. The men who have earned your confidence in Christian leadership examined what the Church must say to the world today in loyalty to the Word of God and Christ as Lord. Those who participated in addition to the SEA staff were: Dr. Charles Tudor Leber, Secretary, The Board of Foreign Missions; Dr. Paul Calvin Payne, General Secretary, Board of Christian Education; Dr. William Barrow Pugh, Stated Clerk; Dr. Ganse Little, chairman SEA Counseling Committee; Dr. James D. Smart, Editor in Chief for the New Curriculum; Dr. Paul S. Heath, Counseling Committee; Dr. George E. Sweazey, Commission on Evangelism.

Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean, expert on Russian-American policy, and Cord Meyer, Jr., president of the World Federalists, participated in the discussions. Their presence assured the intelligent facing of political realities. The Communist danger was faced—also the Fascist danger. This group makes no claim to speak officially for the Church but owns a deep passion to think with Christ on these critical matters. The Division will share with you the result of their thoughts and prayers together in a search for a Christian policy. The conclusions will be printed in four bulletins, and issued as complete.

City of Brotherly Love

Techniques for Implementing Christian Ideals of Brotherhood

*By Adena Joy **

EVERY man will have equal right to a job in Philadelphia, since the Quaker city passed a fair employment ordinance on March 10, 1948. "Brotherly love" was thus legislated in employment practices as the result of a campaign in which Quakers and other religious groups co-operated. Your own city may have a less challenging name, but it could be just as effective in the practice of brotherhood if your Church leaders would insist on a concrete expression of Christian ideals.

What happened in Philadelphia can also happen in your city. But chances are it will not happen unless a few Church people are concerned enough to do something about it. Negroes and Jews and Orientals are concerned because they need jobs. But the rest of us are apt to be very complacent because we feel secure in our jobs and unaware of the thousands of well-trained workers who are being refused jobs merely because of their color or creed.

But a Christian is one whose unselfishness and universal love make him uncomfortable and deeply concerned wherever there is anyone who



Volunteer leaders in the campaign for an FEPC bill in Philadelphia were Earl G. Harrison, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School; Dr. Frank S. Loescher, of the American Friends Service Committee, and Rev. George A. Trowbridge, of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

suffers. So the Christians in your town will feel the need of fair employment practices. If you will express this concern, and offer to co-operate with all other persons and groups who share it, you will have started in the direction of living in a "City of Brotherly Love."

Quakers, Presbyterians, Catholics, Jews, Negroes, labor and business leaders combined their efforts in Philadelphia through a Council for Equal Job Opportunity. For several years all of these and many other groups had been laying a ground-

* Editorial Assistant, Division of Social Education and Action.

work of planning, educating, and negotiating. When the time came for the final drive on the employment issue, these groups adapted their individual programs and schedules, and merged into a co-operative venture. No group asked for credit or glory, they worked together for justice. Two experienced staff workers gave full time to heading the campaign—because they had been released on pay by their respective Jewish and Friends organizations. Dozens of others from all parts of the city volunteered to help with telephone calls, telegrams, and letters.

The main emphasis throughout the campaign was on continuous contact with city political leaders. Before the 1947 municipal election, all candidates were questioned on their stand on the FEPC Ordinance, and their replies were published in a paid newspaper advertisement. Small delegations of constituents called on all the councilmen and ward leaders, as well as flooding them with letters and telephone calls. The city council was also kept informed of the progress of the campaign and of the plans for a public hearing.

The FEPC group helped to draft the city ordinance, and through conferences they kept in constant contact with the committee which had jurisdiction over the bill, and with its sponsors. One councilman commented that the enormous popular interest in the measure was unprecedented in his experience.

Education of individuals in the community is the other necessary job which was effectively done by the combined efforts of Philadelphia's socially concerned leaders. They spoke before many meetings, Churches, and schools; and they brought a personnel director from International Harvester in Chicago to talk with many business and professional groups throughout the city. Letters were sent to 500 organizations urging support of the bill and inclosing educational materials. Through the volunteer efforts of an experienced advertising man, the Philadelphia press—daily, foreign-language, Catholic, Jewish, Negro, and labor—received a steady stream of releases, and five radio broadcasts were given during the week of the hearing. From a community thus awakened came many resolutions favoring FEPC, long lists of names on petitions, and financial support for the campaign.

This is the kind of activity that should be a familiar experience for all Christians, if we are to make our principles felt in the community. We may become confused by the Communists, who may be favoring the same cause. But the source of power for Christians is our belief in the way of love; our respect for every personality, particularly that of the community leader or official whom we hope to change by persuasion. So the Christian, unlike the Communist, strives for understanding

and co-operative action of all—and we may thus become a stronger force than any other.

At the public hearing which preceded the final adoption of the ordinance in Philadelphia, many significant statements were made, which will be informative and stimulating to other Christians seeking to better their community life. Three points were to be established by the FEPC speakers, and the Council's vote (19-0) would indicate that they succeeded in establishing them!

First: That this law is needed.

The objectors tell us that you cannot abolish prejudice by law. That is not the purpose of this legislation. It seeks to prevent the translation of prejudice into discriminatory action which infringes upon the rights and liberties of others, and denies them an opportunity to earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. This legislation provides the means to work out amicable solutions of situations that might otherwise lead to strife, and minimizes the likelihood of conflict by eliminating its basic cause.—*Minister, St. Paul's Baptist Church.*

Actually, it is an educational movement to promote mutual understanding between employer and employee to their mutual profit and benefit, and is based on that brotherly love required by divine precept.—*Secretary, Catholic Interracial Council.*

From an economic point of view, fair employment practices not only benefit members of minority groups, but they also contribute to a better standard of living for everyone in the community.—*President, American Marketing Association.*

I have seen the morale of young graduates and their viewpoint on citizenship seriously menaced during the course of their job-seeking experience by what ap-

peared to be discrimination against their qualifications on other than professional competence or personality and character.—*Representative, University of Pennsylvania Placement Service.*

One of the most serious concerns of these young citizens is their anxiety about discriminatory practices on the part of employers and the ways in which this would affect their business and professional careers. This feeling of the existence of discriminatory practices affects their faith in our democratic process and affects the development of their personalities.—*Executive Director, B'nai B'rith Vocational Counseling Service.*

One of the problems we face in our attempts to curb the incidence of crime among members of certain minority groups involves the limited opportunities members of those groups have to obtain gainful employment because of discriminatory practices of employers. As a result of such practices these people are faced with a continual struggle to obtain the bare necessities of life. Most of these people, because of their limited incomes, are forced to live in what we call highly disorganized communities. Such communities have always been responsible for high rates of delinquency and crime, regardless of the race or nationality of the residents.—*Executive Director, The Crime Prevention Association of Philadelphia.*

Second: That such practices are working well and effectively where they have already been adopted.

Since 1940, our staff has included Gentile, Jewish, and Negro workers. Practice of this fair employment policy has created no problems in meeting on an individual basis hundreds of thousands of Philadelphia's young and adult population.—*Director, Division of Pupil Personnel and Counseling, Board of Education.*

Our experience in hiring office workers on the basis of ability to do the job has resulted in our hiring white, Gentile, Jewish, Negro, and Japanese-American work-

ers. This has resulted in satisfactory plant operation.—*Vice-President and Treasurer, James C. Biddle Co.*

There are on our staff in Philadelphia approximately 850 employees, among them people representing almost every group in the community. I want to emphasize that our organization's fair employment practices have worked out very successfully for the community, for our agency, and for its employees.—*Senior Personnel Supervisor, Philadelphia County Board of Assistance.*

Stern's and Gimbel Brothers have employed several Negroes as sales clerks, and Lit's has employed two Negroes in its clerical department. They are satisfied with the results and plan to continue to upgrade and hire workers on the basis of ability only.—*Representative, Committee on Fair Employment Practices in Department Stores.*

My experience in the personnel field has clearly demonstrated to me that only with strong FEPC legislation can an employer secure the best possible employees for each job. Many personnel men will readily admit this—privately, of course.—*Personnel Director, Arcos Corp.*

Third: That there is a large demand for the law by the people themselves, including business and labor unions.

I feel that we are now ready and eager to practice genuine democracy which must include employing people on the basis of ability and not on the basis of race or creed.—*President, Davis Coat and Apron Supply Co.*

Employers are interested only in an efficient worker and do not care what race, color, or creed he or she may be. In America it is not right to refuse work to anyone because of color.—*President, Harvey Leather Company.*

A weighty majority of the top-management persons expressed themselves as desiring fair employment legislation to support them as they seek the most efficient workers in our labor market.—*Industrial*

F E P C in Four States

Massachusetts: can initiate investigations. All cases either conciliated or dismissed without need of formal hearing.

New York: penalty of \$500 provided, has never been imposed. Employers are complying in correcting discriminatory practices.

New Jersey: employers are voluntarily changing discriminatory practices since law passed; have asked aid of the Commission.

Connecticut: when discrimination has been found employers have removed it.

Secretary, Armstrong Association.

The American Legion has 110 posts with 35,000 veteran members in Philadelphia County. The American Legion does not recognize race, color, or creed in its membership and urges business and industry and labor to adopt the same policy.—*Finance Officer, Philadelphia County Council, American Legion.*

The American Federation of Labor has been traditionally opposed to any form of intolerance, bigotry, and denial of job opportunities.—*Business Manager, Philadelphia Central Labor Union.*

The Church must not be blind to the political, economic, and social forces so vitally effective today in shaping man's destiny. In co-operation with all other men of good will, we must mold the social order to fit our ideals. We dare not leave this task to others; it is the Church which must be the hope of the oppressed, the beacon of the blind, and the haven for the bruised.

The Logic of Profit Sharing

By Robert S. Hartman*

A BOOK entitled *About Revolutions* appeared in 1543, describing the revolution of the earth around the sun, the threefold motion of the earth, the spherical shape of heavenly bodies, and the like. Although the revolutions described in the book had gone on for several billion years, the book was so revolutionary that its author, Copernicus, asked that it not be printed until after his death. Had he been less cautious, he might have been tortured, as were Galileo and Bruno. It was inconceivable to the men who had been the center of a universe around which sun, moon, and stars were arrayed in majestic splendor that perhaps man was just a particle on a particle of motion in "the immensity of the heavens."

However, the time was ripe, and gradually Copernicus' revolutionary theory conquered our minds. It de-throned man, and the Church may have opposed the theory because it sensed that there was more contained in it than the contradiction of a Scriptural world with four corners, or the inference that since creation took seven days and the body has seven windows therefore there could also be only seven planets. The Church may have sensed that the de-

throning of man and the enthroning of mechanistic relations in the universe would bring about a degradation of man. He would then place himself into mechanistic or scientific or quantitative relations not only with nature but also with his fellow men, and perhaps even with God.

The Degradation of Man

From the Renaissance onward, we have the curious paradox that man's knowledge of nature and his intellectual comprehension have grown while the value of man himself has declined. Finally, in twentieth-century Germany, a man could be purchased for the fabrication of soap (his fat), fertilizer (his bones), and lampshades (his skin); or, in Russia, for slave labor calculated in five-year plans.

These modern practices are based on social theories which follow laws of the natural sciences. In fascism as well as communism a man is a tool of production for the state. This degradation of man has also pervaded the theories of capitalism. Textbooks on economics treat labor as a commodity, just as they do capital. Labor is being bought and sold on the so-called "labor market," according to the law of supply and demand. And this scientific or mechanistic or quantitative way of thinking is as "natu-

* Professor of Philosophy, Wooster College, Wooster, Ohio.

ral" to us today as the spiritualistic or qualitative thinking was to the men of the Middle Ages. Nobody thought anything wrong when one of our leading industrialists said recently in Detroit: "Since engine deliveries are not keeping pace with schedules, we are in the process of reducing personnel to conform to the delivery of engines."

Such equating of people with things is immoral. It is the materialistic fallacy, inherent in present-day economic theories, both capitalist and Marxist, and inherent in the general pattern of all our thinking today. What we must do is to make the human being the central factor of our economic process.

Just as there was a revolution in the minds of men during the Middle Ages, so a revolution is now going on in our thinking during the scientific and industrial era. And just as Copernicus made a staggering discovery of a fact as old as the world itself, so we today are making a discovery just as revolutionary and just as trivial: that the worker is a human being.

The Logic of Jesus

This is easy to say, but the implications are far-reaching. It is a return from quantitative to qualitative thinking. It applies the logic of Christ, which is utterly different from the mathematical logic of addition and subtraction. Jesus' logic is a logic of creativity, which means

addition; uncreativity or subtraction is sin. For in Jesus' Kingdom we are all one—there is no separation in the spiritual realm, as there is in the realm of natural bodies. Therefore, what one has, all have; and what one has not, no one has. He who gives, gives to all; and he who takes, takes from all. It makes no difference who gets the penny—the man who worked all day in the vineyard or the man who worked only a few minutes. The only crime in Christ's Kingdom is to be barren, as the fig tree; or to be stingy with one's potentialities, as the man who buried his talent. "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not, even that which he hath shall be taken away."

We must learn the logic of Jesus if we want to restore to the world the equality which materialism has destroyed. The logic is easy to follow, even though the mathematics seems strange. It is the logic of the mother who loves the second child just as much as the first, without for that matter diminishing the love to the first; the logic of the teacher who gains the more he gives—of his knowledge; the logic of Abraham Lincoln who removed his enemies by making friends out of them; and of the African tribe that condemns a murderer to marry the widow of the murdered in order to produce a life to replace the one he has taken. It is the logic of the two Chinese restaurant owners who were ruining each

other by competition until they solved their problem by exchanging management but retaining ownership. It is the logic of profit sharing.

The Dignity of Work

The great task today is to give the worker the thrill of achievement and the dignity of man through his work. Profit sharing, I believe, scores on every count. It is sound economically—it pays. It is sound psychologically—it is human. It is sound morally—it is co-operative. It is sound politically—it is democratic. And it is sound spiritually—it makes us transcend our selfishness, and thereby find our better self. For the first time in the history of the world an organized industrial effort is being made to tap, not the energies of the earth or universe, but the greatest energy of all, that of man.

Here is a tremendous field for the Churches, in which all can combine in the practical application of the creative logic of Jesus. The Catholic Church has recognized profit sharing for a long time as the application of Christian principles in the economic life. The Protestant Churches have on several occasions pronounced similar principles, in particular in the Malvern Manifesto of 1941, the Statement on Social Justice and Economic Reconstruction of 1942, the Delaware Conference of 1942, and the National Study

Conference of the Church and Economic Life in Pittsburgh, 1947.

The Council of Profit Sharing Industries is the corresponding industrial organization. Its Declaration of Principles states that "the essential factor of the economic life is the human individual." It regards owner, worker, and consumer as partners in the economic process. It regards depressions and inflations as man-made rather than mechanical consequences of economic "laws," and sees the cure of these cycles in high productivity at high wages, low prices, and fair profits. These conditions, it is convinced, can be brought about by the co-operation of economic partners, whereas selfish, shortsighted struggle for "profit" brings about the chaotic conditions under which we suffer. Management must fail unless it has "faith in the importance, dignity, and response of the human individual."

Thus we have the Gospel of Christ as our guide, the principles of the Churches as our program, and an industrial organization as our arm to realize Christian ideals in economic practice. Let us commit ourselves to a course of action, throw the whole power of the Churches behind it, and follow our course without compromise. Only thus, in this time of stress and confusion, will we be able to bring about the moral reformation which alone can guarantee the survival of our civilization.

Catholic Garb in New Mexico's Schools

*By J. Paul Stevens **

THE remote village of Dixon, New Mexico, is at present one of the "hottest spots" in the nation-wide Church and State controversy, in the opinion of Joseph M. Dawson, recording secretary for Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. The problem in Dixon is that Roman Catholic nuns teach in the public schools and are paid from public funds. This happens in several places in New Mexico, but Dixon is receiving nation-wide publicity and attention because of the spirited social action of a few determined citizens.

Background

There were several public schools in the communities in the irrigated mountain valleys along the Rio Embudo and the Rio Grande. In Dixon the schoolhouse had been constructed by the WPA. Six years ago, in an avowed consolidation move, equipment and pupils were taken from this building to the Roman Catholic Church property in the heart of Dixon. The school became known as St. Joseph Public School, but recently it was revealed that the records of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe list it as a parochial school. Roman Catholic nuns were employed

as teachers, and evidence of Roman Catholic instruction and observances in the classrooms mounted as the months passed.

Any change in the New Mexico situation that might displace the more than 120 nuns and brothers from their public-school teaching positions would deprive their Church of nearly one third of a million dollars which they receive annually in teachers' salaries. In addition, the Roman Catholic Church would lose this tremendous sphere of influence in New Mexico, which could be only partially regained by the re-establishment of Church-financed parochial schools.

Community Action

Two years ago the people of Dixon, which is possibly half Roman Catholic and half Protestant, began to raise money to build a new public school that would be free from any sectarian influence or domination. By sacrificial community effort a \$13,000 five-room building was constructed and ready for the opening of school last September. Three days before school opened parents learned that their new building would be staffed with three nuns as teachers and a nun as principal. The already awakened community became further aroused.

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Taos, New Mexico.

A group of citizens sought relief from the Rio Arriba County Board of Education, but it would take no stand and gave the delegation no satisfaction. It referred the matter to the New Mexico State Board of Education, before whom the Dixon group was led to expect a public hearing. But this turned out to be a travesty. In a closed preliminary hearing, one woman was admitted to present the complaints of the Dixon citizens. An open hearing was denied when the state board learned of the evidence the Dixon people possessed. Disclaiming jurisdiction in the matter, the state board returned it to the county board, with certain recommendations. The state board conferred with the archbishop of Santa Fe, and from his office there went a directive to the nuns and brothers in the public schools of the state that they cease all religious instruction.

The country school board now proposed a temporary compromise arrangement. Lay teachers would have the six primary grades in the new building, and the seventh grade through high school would remain in the Roman Catholic Church property with the five nuns continuing as teachers. The board explained that they could not summarily discharge these teachers, since they enjoyed the protection of the teacher tenure law. This arrangement was accepted by the Dixon people on a purely temporary basis, looking toward a final settlement of the mat-

ter in court. But at present the state Board of Education considers the matter closed. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, according to Rev. William T. Bradley, who appears to be the spokesman for the archdiocese, shares the same hopeful attitude.

The citizens committee takes the position that with five nuns still teaching in the Dixon public schools and others teaching throughout the New Mexico public schools, with evidence of their religious teaching in the public schools still being brought to light, with nearly a third of a million dollars of state funds going into the treasury of their Church, the matter is far from being settled. Pertinent questions put by the Dixon people are: Why should the state support parochial schools with public tax money? Is it reasonable for the state to employ as public-school teachers persons who are first of all subject to the authority of their religious superiors, and secondly to the school board which hires them? How can the nuns avoid teaching religion and be loyal to their vows?

The Dixon people do not view this as a religious quarrel. They would subscribe wholeheartedly to the manifesto of Protestants and Other Americans United, where it states, "Our controversy is with those lawmakers and law administrators who would yield to the demand of any Church for a relation to the state which the Constitution forbids."

Workshop

Increased aid for needy was asked by the Grafton (West Virginia) Presbytery, in a meeting at The Shack, where a resolution was adopted asking Governor Clarence Meadows to call the legislature into special session to appropriate funds for raising public assistance grants.

The action was taken following submission of a report prepared by Rev. Nevin Kendall, director of The Shack, who is chairman of social education and action for the Grafton Presbytery.

The resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas those of our citizens who must depend upon public assistance for all or part of their livelihood are now receiving far less than the absolute minimum necessary for human subsistence; and

"Whereas unrelieved destitution is causing needless suffering and untimely death among many and especially the more aged of our citizens,

"RESOLVED: That the Presbytery of Grafton, of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., urgently petition the Governor of West Virginia to call the state legislature into emergency session and the legislature, upon being convened, to appropriate funds for raising public assistance grants to a level sufficient to provide a minimum decent standard of living.

—*From The Dominion-News, Jan. 21, 1948.*

An indictment against a whole people, according to Edmund Burke, is impossible, yet American newspaper headlines often indict all Negroes. R. B. Eleazer, writer in the field of race relations, made a survey of one daily paper which he said was not hostile to Negroes.

In one month it ran 133 stories of crimes, misdemeanors, and court actions involving white people, and not one of these headlines mentioned the race of the culprit or suspect, while of the 39 crime

stories involving colored people, 34 of the headlines featured the word "Negro," and in three the racial identity of the subject was clearly indicated.

"*Girl Assaulted; Gun-Wielding Negroes Escape*" was spread on the front page, under double-column, double-deck headlines. Nobody could miss it. On the other hand, its repudiation next day as "just a hoax" was inconspicuously reported on an inside page, under a small-type, single-column head, where it is reasonably certain that comparatively few saw it.

Recognizing the danger pointed out above, a number of the nation's greatest daily papers have recently discontinued the use of racial tags in reporting crime. They see no gain, but a great deal of loss, in continuing the indictment of a whole people. Alert and concerned Christians will want to watch the practices of their newspapers and make recommendations.

Implementation of the Civil Rights report was suggested when the annual meeting of the Oregon Council of Church Women passed the following resolution: "Inasmuch as the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is called the most important document since the Emancipation Proclamation: and as the Oregon Council of Church Women is concerned with the fulfillment of the Report's recommendations in Oregon:

"**THEREFORE**, be it resolved that we request that hereafter the Governor appoint to office only those citizens who have a record of achievement in upholding the principles of democracy. Also we request that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Governor and to the press."

Citizens of Oregon have already protested the appointment to a state commission of a man who followed discriminatory practices in his business in Portland.

Christian Citizenship

UMT and Selective Service:

Whether or not either UMT or Selective Service or both are passed by the 80th Congress will depend upon whether real facts are given the Congress on the international crisis. Trygve Lie of the United Nations said that nothing had basically changed in the international situation during the past six weeks. There is a considerable opinion among leaders in Washington that the President's appeal to Congress was to cover up the mistakes in foreign policy, and to divert attention from the abandonment of Palestine's partition, which was announced two days later. Secretary Forrestal, in testifying the following day before the Senate Armed Services Committee, did not have any definite plan for Selective Service, and his only plan for UMT was the broad outline of the President's Commission. To date there have been no facts presented in Washington that indicate anything except that this Administration is continuing a misguided foreign policy that more and more abandons UN co-operation and more and more depends upon force.

If the Italian elections on April 18 go to the Communists, another wave of hysteria will doubtless be released. At this point neither UMT nor Selective Service should be considered dead issues.

Other Interesting Facts:

1. The Army is turning down about one half of those that volunteer because it has raised its standards from the wartime passing grade of 59 in the Army General Classification Test to the present grade of 80.

2. The Army has authorization now under the law to accept eighteen-month voluntary enlistments but is turning them down on the ground that it is too costly to take men for so short a period.

3. On March 12, the Army needed only 120,000 men, according to published figures, for the ground forces; and until very recently neither the Navy nor the air forces wanted a peacetime draft.

Why should thousands of local draft boards be set up and the lives of millions of young men be upset in order to get 120,000 men?

For action we recommend that you refer to the official statement issued by the heads of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., on March 19 (see your minister) and that you refer to the editorial in this issue. Write your ideas on the matter to Hon. Arthur H. Vandenberg, U. S. Senate, and Hon. Joseph E. Martin, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Displaced Persons:

S.2242 (Wiley) is the new bill that will receive major consideration. It is a weak bill in that only 50,000 persons each year for two years would be admitted, and it has many restrictive measures. However, it will be strengthened from the floor with amendments. Write your own Senators, urging passage and amendments to the effect that the number to be admitted must be increased substantially, equitable and nondiscriminatory selection methods must be substituted, and the needlessly cumbersome and restrictive conditions of the bill must be removed. For full information on displaced persons, write your Senator to send you a copy of this bill and a copy of the Judiciary Committee report #950. Also see statement of the Standing Committee in *Signposts for Christians* and include recommendations in your letter.

Housing:

S.866 (Taft—Ellender—Wagner) continues to be the bill. Senator Fletcher has introduced amendments to bring this bill

up to date and to further strengthen it. Congressmen Boggs and Javits have each introduced a similar bill in the House. Senator McCarthy has introduced a bill in the Senate designed to protect the interests of certain private groups. This was done after the Senate committee rejected McCarthy's and Gamble's proposals. Write your Senators, urging passage of S.866. (General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., action, May, 1947.)

Grain Allocations:

S.J.Res. 186, extending grain allocations to April 30, was passed by the Senate and is now pending before House Banking and Currency Committee (Jesse Wolcott, Mich., chairman).

No definite date has been set to take up the matter in committee, but "probably it may be considered next week." They "might" have hearings on the measure one day—no more. They don't know who will testify.

The Joint Committee on the Economic Report unanimously (8-0) recommended the extension of grain allocation. Investigation of grain supplies showed them insufficient to meet domestic requirements and foreign needs.

The present measure meets most of the conditions asked by distillers:

Not less than 2½ million bushels per month.

6,000 bushels minimum to any plant.

If distillers use tactics (buy up large amounts during suspension of allocations), amounts will be deducted from allotment.

The Senate committee left the formula pretty much the same as before—historic use and plant capacity as it was under Secretary of Agriculture. But the Senate eliminated plant capacity so that resolution now discriminates against small distiller, and favors only large distiller.

Alcohol Advertising:

Hearings are expected to open about April 21 on three bills to control adver-

tising. S.265 (Capper) is backed by prohibition forces. The legal council for the Senate committee says this bill would go to the courts. S.2352 (Reed) would control advertising related to health benefits of alcohol, social prestige or American tradition. This bill is strongly opposed by the wet forces, but seems to have some likelihood of passage. Another bill, S.2365 (Johnson), is similar to the Reed bill and in addition is very specific in defining the kind of ads that may be used. Both bills would place control in hands of the Federal Trade Commission. Each case would be decided on its own merits. The Johnson bill is largely based on the plan now working in Virginia. It is important to write your own Senators that action on this matter be taken and that the committee report a good bill and one that would be workable. We commend the bills for study.

Minimum Wage:

S.2062 (E. Thomas) will soon be before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. It calls for a minimum wage of 75 cents, and has good child-labor provisions. It reaffirms the 40-hour week. This is the best of the various bills before Congress and is in line with repeated positions taken by the General Assembly. See article in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, "Women's Work Is Never Done," page 25. Write Hon. Robert H. Taft, Chairman, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Other Bills (write your own Congressmen and Senators):

- S.1352 and H.R.3488, Antilynching
- S.984, Anti-Discrimination
- H.R.3999, Japanese Evacuation Claims Bill
- H.R.29, Anti-Poll Tax
- H.R.3566, Amend nationality act to permit Attorney General to admit hardship cases. (Would help about 2,000 Japanese who have married Japanese-American wives, and who have American families.)

Sanctuary

Prayer for Peace *

*A South African soldier who fought in World War II
speaks of the need for waging peace NOW*

By Dick Diespeker

It is autumn again,
Smoky-voiced, cold-lipped autumn,
And the leaves are curling down,
A yellow lifeless rain,
Poor fragile skeletons that crackle
With dry dead voices underfoot. . . .
Crushed by the rolling wheels,
Or trampled by heavy boots,
Or thrown upon the back lot fires. . . .
They flash a moment in the sun
And disappear.

Autumn again!
The summer is dead and the year adying,
And Peace, a wrinkled nightmare
Crouched among the skeleton leaves,
Weeping for all the broken promises
And the dying hopes. . . .

Is this the hill I stood upon
Four years ago, and watched the golden
sun

Strike life into the valley
With the fires of God?
And heard the mutter of the guns
Beyond the ridge,
And wondered then
Where lay the road when Victory was won?
Now Victory has come and gone,
Slipped through our fingers,
Swallowed in the tumult of hate;
Drowned in oceans of mistrust and fear;
Throttled by intolerance and whipped by
civil strife. . . .

Gone from us . . . lost . . . and never once
Looked back upon our empty hands.
Yes, this is the hill,
And this the hollow Victory
And the weeping Peace,
And once again as I stand here

I look up . . . and see the face of God!
O God,
What have we done?

What nightmare has our dream
Become within so short a year?
All that we've prayed for, given us
And we have lost it all.
Lord, once again give us the strength
To win a Victory.
This time, dear Lord, give us the power
To beat our baser selves into defeat.
Renew our faith;
Give us the energy for Peace;
Teach us again to keep a promise made;
Give us back love and truth;

Lift us above the languor and incom-
petence of fear;
Help us to trust our fellow men;
And, this beyond all things, Lord,
Lift again the candles of our memories.
Make us remember and remember
'Til we burn with shame. . . .
The agony of nameless millions;
The cold drowned face of the sailor;
And the airman's last flamed glimpse of
life;
And the soldier with blood drying
Upon his speechless mouth.
Make us remember the tears
That fell so hopelessly upon the rubble
Of a thousand tenements; the pain,
The screaming dark, the everlasting years
Of separation; the brutal shock
Of death.

Make us remember
The men who fought and lived . . .
The broken men who live a shadow life
In wards until they grow tired of fighting
Death, and turn to it as their only friend;

* From *World Alliance News Letter*. Used
with permission.

The whole men, without homes or jobs,
 Watching our promises broken one by one,
 Storing the bitterness in their hearts
 Because we have forgotten them
 So soon.

Make us remember the men who fought
 with us
 For freedom . . . the men of other creeds
 and other tongues . . .
 Make us remember the helpless and the
 aged;
 The wanderers and the outcasts of the
 earth;
 Make us remember the sound and fury
 of our words
 That pledged a bright new world;
 Stamp them upon our hearts and brand
 them on our souls,
 And burn them upon our heedless minds
 Eternally.
 Dear Lord, give us the wit to see
 Our folly, and the shame
 To recognize our perfidy, and teach us
 humility

Again before Your face.
 Give us the courage
 To turn our backs upon our own stupidity;
 To honor the promises so glibly made;
 To rip the hatred from our hearts
 And make men truly free;
 Help us have done with hollow men
 And empty hearts and dead souls.

Dear Lord, teach us to act instead of
 dream;
 To work for Peace instead of wishing for
 a miracle;
 Make us honest men and honest women,
 With the strength and the courage
 To lift a dying Peace
 From the ashes of empty Victory,
 And make it live again.
 Dear Lord of Heaven and earth,
 Give us these strengths
 While there's time,
 To breathe life into Peace again,
 And keep it a living fire,
 Forever and ever.
 Amen.

From all hurry and preoccupation with our own doings,
 From inattention to the things of the spirit,

Let us turn to God himself.

"To see God, as he appears in Jesus, and to cast oneself upon him, is to be delivered from fear of things, and very specially from the fear of tasks that scare us by their size. What gives the Bible its majesty of attitude, its perfect self-possession, in face of an impossible situation, is just that the writers of the Book were all the time looking at God. They lost even the thought of their own weakness as they gazed on the might of the Eternal."

Lord, increase our faith.

Holy Father, enable us, we pray thee, as members of thy holy Church throughout the world, to rise to the demands of our high calling at this time and to give ourselves wholly to thee. Fill us with hope. Bind us afresh to thy heart, and fill us with a joyful, courageous, active, and compassionate spirit of love. Enable us to hear thy voice speaking to us in the midst of the turmoil, perplexity, and anguish of the present time. Give us grace to obey thy command, leaving all results in thy hands. Here and now we offer ourselves to thee. Cleanse, accept, and use us, we pray thee, for the service of our day and generation to the glory of thy name. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Movie Worth Seeing

Miracle of the Bells. A noble theme—that the real miracle is the human soul—is obscured by a great rushing and shouting of people who don't know what it's all about. The *soul* is a reality which escapes Hollywood, so instead they lean heavily on a coffin and finally transfer to a star. Frank Sinatra is a most unconvincing priest, but he is charming and sincere. As usual the Church to Hollywood

is Catholic, and a Protestant is one who has not "been to Sunday School since my mother stopped taking me."

The movie does challenge your thinking on miracles. Now, if ever, our world wants to believe in miracles; to believe at least that God is active in our affairs. Some inspiring scenes do lift you to a new faith that "wonderful things" are happening even yet among us.

The Young Will Grow

Fun-loving high-school youth had made plans for a minstrel show. They were gathering during the noon hour to complete their arrangements, when a concerned teacher called the Council of Churches and asked Mr. Thomas* to come right over to the meeting.

As he entered the school halls he saw the publicity posters—black-face caricatures. He found the young people talking excitedly of the Mills Brothers and Basin Street and zoot suits. Here was no problem of viciousness or prejudice, but the more difficult one of lack of awareness. Would not an uninvited stranger, a moralizing adult, merely antagonize the students by suggesting their motives were wrong; put them on the defensive by criticizing their well-planned party, and in the end create race consciousness where none had been before?

Mr. Thomas slipped into a seat and casually entered into their planning. He suggested a song they hadn't thought of, and a charade that would be full of laughs. Then he suggested that zoot suits were not customarily worn by Negroes. The discussion as to what would be a more suitable costume led the young people to conclude that Negroes dressed just exactly as they themselves did. "But costumes are so much fun," wailed one girl. "Of course," said Mr. Thomas, "How about old-fashioned or hard-times clothes?" That was a good idea, they concluded; what other ideas did he have?

Why did they want to impersonate the Mills Brothers? he asked. "Hot stuff," one fellow replied, waving his forefinger. Then it was the music that they all enjoyed—not the color of the singers faces? "Oh, but how would we know who they were?" Wasn't there a special song of theirs? Mr. Thomas wondered. Sure, that would do it!

And so gradually, without any rude disruption of their cherished plans, the students began to realize that just blacking their faces didn't suggest Negro culture. That, in fact, they didn't know very much about Negroes.

But then they remembered their posters. "We can't change our whole show. The posters are up." "A keen job too." "We worked so hard on them." "What do you think of the posters, Mr. Thomas?" He had to confess he'd never seen any people who had faces like those. Then he left, so the young people could make their own decision about their minstrel show. They had a hard-times party.

* George L. Thomas, Director of Social Relations, Portland (Oregon) Council of Churches.

About Books

The Indians of the Americas, by John Collier. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. \$3.75.

This panorama of a way of life that died at the hands of the white man, though never melodramatic—indeed coldly dispassionate—is deeply moving. Collier has great respect for the Indians' latent genius and spiritual attributes as he states the case for a dispossessed people and pleads for justice and greater understanding.

The first half of the book records with facts and figures that one cannot disbelieve the monstrous Spanish program of rape and destruction of the Indians. To an agrarian people the mad lust for precious metals was beyond understanding. Gold was not a means of exchange; it was only an attractive material for sacred objects and personal adornment. Ignorance of the way in which the white man's mind worked and a natural disposition to be friendly proved their undoing. Through the centuries the stolen gold and silver flowed to Europe. When no more of this remained, they were forced to work in the mines until they died. They toiled on land that once was theirs, to feed the invaders; and here too they died because the hours of labor were beyond human endurance and the food allotments too scanty to sustain life.

The voice of conscience did rise in the midst of the conquering ruffians. Las Casas, born in 1474, came to the Caribbean Islands as a young man, and was so revolted by what he saw that he became a priest and devoted the whole of his life to bettering the lot of the Indians. He carried his plea for racial tolerance and liberty to the throne of Spain itself, but was granted few concessions. Spain needed the wealth of the New World to carry on her game of power politics.

If the book ended here, it would probably

be required reading in our schools. The last part, which deals with the treatment of the Indians in these United States, precludes that possibility. Facts, figures, dates, source material, and the rapidity with which national heroes fall from their pedestals, would make tough going for young minds. From the very beginning of white colonization to our own times the pattern of confiscation, treachery, broken treaties and chicanery is persistent.

Cotton Mather in 1637 learned that one of his followers had burned an Indian village by night and riddled the victims as they fled from their wigwams. In his records he wrote, "It was supposed that no less than six hundred Pequot souls were brought down to Hell that day." As a notable contrast in ethics, it is recorded that a basic rule by which the Shawnees lived was, "Do not kill or injure your neighbor, for it is not him that you injure, you injure yourself."

LEE KNOX

The Heathens, by William Howells. Doubleday & Company, Inc. \$3.75.

Although the factual subject matter covers primitive man and his religions, the spirit pervading this book is the author's modest, somewhat hesitant, attempt to answer the persistent question of modern, civilized man: "What is religion?"

After defining religion as "a set of earnest policies which a group of people adopts under an unconscious compulsion in order to tidy up their distraught relationships with one another and with the universe as they perceive it, without the aid of science," Howells admits he is not particularly pleased with his definition. Religion cannot be defined or described adequately, he points out, because the things that should be classified are within man. Religion is not a thing by itself but a

characteristic of man. It reflects the refusal of man's whole being to accept as the whole of life the world he perceives with his senses. Unlike Pierre du Nouÿ or Gerald Heard, Howells does not venture to suggest that this something within man is the nucleus of a new phase of evolution.

Being an anthropologist, Howells must use an anthropological approach to his study of religion. He describes this method as "going about like birdwatchers, with notebooks, studying actual, living communities of all kinds, making careful records of how they worship, and trying to discover why." He emphasizes that "primitive devotees are not people of another planet but are essentially exactly like us and are engaged with precisely the same kind of religious appetite as the civilized."

The book includes chapters on magic, divinations, witchcraft, ancestor worship, demons, and gods. From a religious point of view, of greatest significance are the chapters on "The Nature of Religion" and "Origins and Conclusions."

To thoroughly enjoy the writings of William Howells, we should be able to look at mankind with eyes of a detached observer—and then have a good laugh about it.

MRS. JOHN PRIDEAUX

Religion in the Twentieth Century, edited by Vergilius Ferm. The Philosophical Library. \$5.00.

The task which the editor, with the help of twenty-eight collaborators, has undertaken is stated in the preface: to present "a cross section of the big streams of religious ideas and practices which affect the lives of millions now living." The discerning reader will agree that the book does possess the virtue of authoritative presentation of the several religious traditions—each contributor writing with insight derived from firsthand experience and scholarly competence.

The reader is introduced to a variety of religious traditions arranged in chronologi-

cal order. And he is chiefly impressed with the great diversity of practices and doctrines through which, in various cultures and at divers times, man's universal religious impulse has expressed itself. For each chapter stands as a complete unit, with little regard for the historical connections between many of the traditions presented. For example, even the Christian tradition is presented in separate chapters scattered throughout the book. Roman Catholicism appears between Confucianism and Shinto; the Eastern Orthodox Church is discussed, then Sikhism, then Conservative Protestantism, Anglo-Catholicism, the Salvation Army, Christian Science, and Jehovah's Witnesses.

This is "comparative religion" with a vengeance! Yet the editor states that our era "desperately needs a religion that can bring men together. To this end the various religious households must transcend their provincialisms and each, after its own kind, give voice to that in its heritage which reflects the Universal Spirit brooding upon all sons of men of genuinely good-will everywhere." But is the reader impressed with this kind of unity of religions, or with their wide divergence? This reviewer feels that such a book completely fails to show the concrete basis of world-wide religious unity. However, students of the religious situation will want this book as a source of authentic and brief information about the world's religions.

JOHN B. HARRINGTON

No Trumpet Before Him, by Nelia Gardner White. The Westminster Press. \$3.00.

You will be absorbed in this story which probes understandingly into the hearts of Church people who live and love and hate as we do. The writing is good, moving swiftly and with clarity.

The Church and ministry and Christianity, however, are only framework for themes such as "everyone always loves the

wrong person" and "hate wastes you away." Even the sincere Christian, Paul Phillips, although he knows how to cope with hate, is as ignorant as the others of the superior power of love. Reason and justice win his victories for him.

The parsonage atmosphere is genuine and vivid, except that problems mushroom up in unlikely ways: the bishop disregards precedent, district superintendent, and wealthy pillars to suddenly move a rural preacher into First Church; an uneducated, poverty-stricken Negro occupies a back pew; an aloof, sophisticated girl unaccountably bares her innermost heart at a bridge party. Complications mount so fast that even the author is overwhelmed: she doesn't need the extra problems created by the arrival of Paul's niece, so she lets the fact that the child is Chinese be accepted without comment by the fashionable congregation.

The importance of this novel comes, not from its Church setting, but from its characters, drawn with an honesty and sensitivity that reveals and inspires you. The minister is not the noblest one, but you feel closest to him. He is hurt and lonely, so you strive to understand and encourage his efforts. Intimate human relations are traced with insight that is sharp but not bitter or cruel. You recognize these struggles of the self to gain or destroy others all about you or as your own.

But the wind that touches every character with a quiet benediction is a sentimental ending. Has anyone been reborn within himself, or found faith in the power of love? Certainly not the minister or his wife—though perhaps the young lovers of Baudelaire. For them is hope; the "Christians" have still to strive to be good without love.

ADENA JOY

America's Destiny, by Herman Finer.
The Macmillan Company. \$5.00.

There is an unwavering realism in Professor Finer's analysis of the present in-

ternational situation. He sees Russia as the avowed protagonist for a world state, in which democracy would be destroyed and supplanted by a forcibly unified society, ruled by a communist hierarchy. The author sees in the United Nations the one ultimate power that can defeat the plans of the Soviet rulers. A leader of the freedom-loving and freedom-seeking peoples of the world is imperative to rally the forces of democracy at this stage of the conflict and it is America's destiny to assume this sacrificial vocation. Says Dr. Finer, "She has the duty of supporting continuously with her wealth and manpower (in association with those who will accept her lead, and against those who will not) peaceful solutions of the world's constitutional problems and disputes and situations which would lead to war, except for the timely use of a principled word and a muscular arm."

WALTER BARLOW

The Comics, by Coulton Waugh. The Macmillan Company. \$5.00.

Comic strips are read by 83 per cent of male newspaper readers and 79 per cent of women readers, while two thirds of all children over six read the daily funnies. With a regular audience of over half the population of the United States the comics have become a powerful social force which no longer can be ignored.

The Comics is a comprehensive history of comic strips and the artists who have drawn them, as well as an estimate of their significance as a social phenomenon and their place as a folk art. While tracing the curious evolution through which comic strips have gone in the last forty years, Waugh analyzes with penetrating insight the historic changes in American outlook and attitudes.

He believes that people read the comics because they find themselves reflected in them, and that children find the comics to be, not an escape from reality, but a means of experimenting with reality and

its problems. In his own experience a child meets very few of life's problems; through the comics he may meet and adjust to a great variety of the world's trials and difficulties.

We may expect strips in the future to follow closely popular preoccupations, with an increasing emphasis upon real humor. Waugh believes that there will be significant artistic and literary development in the creation of the comics and that increasingly they will be used to interpret history and promote democratic ideals.

The book itself is an attractive volume, well printed and well bound, and illustrated throughout with panels and strips of the great comics of the past and present.

CLIFFORD EARLE

Youth After Conflict, by Goodwin Watson. Association Press. \$4.00.

Not afraid to go out on a limb in making predictions, this author has the audacity to depict the life of young people in 1950. He studied the behavior patterns of youth after the Civil War and the First World War and finds that a war period accelerates social change but does not necessarily initiate it. After tracing the results of 1920's trends, he predicts what will follow the 1940's. The book is filled with quotations and anecdotes which make interesting reading and supply good material for anyone working with young people. The book merits the description of its cover—"a significant analysis of American youth and a forecast of the future. It is a road map and guide book for those who are concerned about America of the next decade."

BARNETT S. EBY

Appointment on the Hill, by Dorothy Detzer. Henry Holt and Company, Inc. \$3.00.

The philosophy and the technique of

pacifism are presented with clarity and interest by Washington's "most famous woman lobbyist." She also demonstrates with facts and personal experiences how public policy is formed by private interests. She shows how, as in the case of feeding occupied countries, political considerations are more important than human welfare.

The delicacy of style and warmth of feeling in the book make it much more than a journal of events. It is an experience in human understanding.

The Grand Inquisitor, an excerpt from Dostoevsky's *Brothers Karamazov*. Association Press. \$1.50.

Crime and Punishment, a dramatization of Dostoevsky's novel, by Rodney Ackland. Henry Holt & Company, Inc. \$2.50.

The majestic writing and the penetrating analysis of the excerpt give in a few pages the heart of Dostoevsky's thought: in man's freedom is divinity and terrifying responsibility. "Reflections on the Story" by William Hubben, and wood engravings by Fritz Eichenberg, add to the beauty of the slender volume.

The dramatization, however, seems unaware of Dostoevsky's theme. The play is notable for its noise and physical violence; apparently aimed at condemning Nazi violence without knowing that Dostoevsky would condemn Hiroshima as well.

Without Halos, by Bess White Cochran. The Westminster Press. \$2.50.

A delightful family picture; episodic, but holds attention easily. Comments on Church organizations, manners, buildings, etc., are illustrated and enlivened with personal stories. The Church is revealed as a very high-class social institution; that it might have a vital, Messianic mission throughout the world is only vaguely and uneasily suggested.

A. J.

“Blessed Are the Peacemakers”

*By Dr. Ralph W. Sockman **

AMID all these rumors of war we hear the words of Jesus: “Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.” Shall we dismiss this Beatitude as an idle dream, or can we do something about it?

We are so frequently told by professional patrioteers that there are some things that come before peace, and that one of these things is liberty. It is better, they say, to die on one's feet than to live on one's knees. Of course we should prize liberty. And certainly we should not grovel on our knees before dictators and regimentation. But according to the Bible there is something comes before both liberty and peace. And that something is righteousness. Purity of heart is the soil from which peacemaking stems. And not so many of our fellow men would have to die on their feet as soldiers if more of us would get on our knees to seek God's righteousness.

Having started with God and himself, the Christian peacemaker proceeds to radiate peace through God and his neighbor. The test of whether we are at peace with God is

*“National Radio Pulpit”
address following the
Churchmen’s Conference
on World Peace in
Washington, D. C., April
6, 7, 1948.*

whether we spread peace among others. “If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God

whom he hath not seen?” Such is John's plain blunt way of putting it, and no sophistry can soften his statement. Jesus was equally direct, saying, “He that gathereth not with me scattereth.” There is a centrifugal force of selfishness which separates men, and there is a centripetal force of love which unites them. And as between those two forces, there is no neutrality. We are either gatherers with the Christ-Spirit or scatterers with the devilish divisive forces.

Not only by his thoughts and words, but also by his deeds, the peacemaker is a gatherer rather than a scatterer. He does not merely discuss the problem of brotherhood between races and religions and nations, but he enters into experiences of fellowship with individuals of other groups. He prepares for world citizenship by practicing the principles of brotherhood in his own community, for he knows that if we cannot get along with our neighbors, it is futile to plan for a family of

* April 11, 1948, N.B.C. Used with permission.

nations, and if we cannot keep our word as man to man, we cannot expect treaties to be sacred between nation and nation. The peacemaker takes seriously the words of our Lord which Matthew puts in the same chapter with the Beatitudes. They are familiar in sound but not in practice. Listen: "I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." Pretty searching commands, aren't they? But if we are to be children of God—and that is what the peacemakers are to be—we must obey them.

I have been in Washington attending an interdenominational conference of Church leaders called to stem the drift toward war. The Churchmen recognize the menace of totalitarianism, but are convinced that the method of dealing with such ideas is not by resort to armed force but by the strengthening of social and political democracy, safeguarded by international law. They believe it is more realistic and effective in this atomic age to start our citizens thinking than to set our schoolboys marching. The Church leaders interviewed many of our lawmakers and found them deeply concerned, and eager to represent the will of the people. If this is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, we the

people must so think, talk, and practice peace that the contagion of our peace-mindedness will counteract the war-mindedness that has gripped the leading Governments of the world. Peacemaking cannot be delegated to professional diplomats and professional soldiers. Peacemaking is your business and mine, and it must start at the grass roots.

For one thing, the peacemaker can and must keep his conscience with God. Now, if ever, the Church and synagogue must show that they are guideposts of God and not mere weather vanes veering with gusty popular opinion. This nation was founded by men who put into the Constitution that each citizen holds his conscience directly subject to God. Our Founding Fathers believed in the sovereignty of God, and from that basic doctrine stem our ideas of right and our ideals of our rights. You and I must take our ideas of right from God as God gives us to see the right and not from popular polls. And certainly not from the Kremlin in Moscow. If the Kremlin adopts certain tactics, that does not make them right for us, and in so far as dictators induce us to copy their methods, they are conquering us by contagion. America is a so-called Christian nation; the Soviet Union is run by a professedly godless government. Is the world to see any difference in the tactics of the two nations? The Christian peacemaker says the world must see a difference,

that our nation which professes belief in God shall so conduct its domestic and foreign policies that the peoples which sit in the darkness of fear and poverty and hunger shall see a great light in our good works and glorify our Father in heaven.

The peacemaker keeps his heart with God as well as his conscience. By our means of communication the world has been reduced to a stage so small that we view all parts of it every day. But in condensing our world, we have condensed our news of it. On my visits to Europe the past two summers I discovered that the people there are not getting a true and adequate picture of America. And we are not getting the full picture of other countries. We therefore need imagination to see the human beings behind the headlines. We need to see the home of foreign peoples, the hungry children and the haggard parents. We need imagination to supplement our information.

The Christian peacemaker wants to help the needy of Europe and China not through fear but through Christlike charity. He desires to see the war-devastated lands restored to decency because we are brothers of the French and the Italians and not because we are enemies of the Russians or any other people. And he believes that if we keep pure our motives of relief abroad and keep sound our democracy at home, the frightened peoples of western Europe and the Orient will eventually look

to Christian America and not to Communist Russia for light and hope. And remember, there is no victory unless the victors win the minds and hearts of men.

And if we keep our conscience and head and heart with God, we need not lose heart in this work of peace-making. During the last war Leon Blum, former French premier, imprisoned by the Nazis, said, "Nothing established by violence and maintained by force, nothing that degrades humanity and is based on contempt for personality, can endure." If Leon Blum, a great Jew, can hold to such a magnificent faith, certainly the Christian can do no less. And if communistic totalitarianism like Nazism contains these evils, as we believe, then it cannot endure.

And if our Bible is not a book of false promises and Christ was not a deluded dreamer, then we can have faith that truth and justice will eventually triumph, that might does not make right nor long secure it, that war is not inevitable, that race for armaments does not insure peace, that world government can be established in God's family of nations, and that evil can be overcome with good. I, for one, refuse to believe that Christ went to the cross for a false hope. I believe in Jesus Christ as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. And if he is Prince of Peace, then "blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

Building a World Community

Vera Micheles Dean

Research Director, Foreign Policy Association



Vera Micheles Dean

ASSUMING as I do that some military force is necessary, and assuming that we are all concerned with this nation's security as well as with that of the rest of the world—are we doing the best possible thing in accepting UMT? If we are thinking in terms of war or possible defense against war, some thought should certainly be given to a large and mobile air force—not only to a large land force. But, whatever proposals are finally accepted by Congress, it is essential for the future that the United States should link its

military program as closely as possible with the United Nations which is officially stated to be the foundation of our foreign policy. We often say that we believe in the UN. We do, in theory, but whenever it comes to concrete action, whether it's military action or whether it's ERP, our national reflex is automatically to avoid the UN, to go around it in some way.

Unless such military plans as we now make are closely linked with the UN as well as with some regional program of security in Europe, we may go off on a tangent of nationalistic armaments which might lead to a dangerous trend toward militarization in this country, without any compensation in terms of laying the basis for future international co-operation. There is a very real danger that, if we do not think this problem through carefully, we may wake up here someday with a militarized internal system that may not be too far from what we criticized in Nazi Germany, and now criticize in Russia.

It is difficult to see just how we are going to reconcile the demands on our economy of an elaborate military program with the requirements

(Continued on page 22)

These statements, made to Presbyterian leaders at a meeting in New York, March, 1948, were the basis of discussion and policy formation for the guidance of the Churches.

Cord Meyer, Jr.

President, World Federalists



Cord Meyer, Jr.

I AGREE with the social and economic analysis that Mrs. Dean gave. That in many of these countries we are backing the wrong horse and in backing him we are bound to lose is a thing we've got to understand very quickly.

I'd like to begin by describing briefly the structure of the international society that we're in, because often we seem to ignore the really fatal nature of the institutions with which we're working, and by that I mean the whole sovereign

state system itself. As you know, the United States is only one of a number of heavily armed sovereign nations, and during peace—which is only so-called peace, because peace between sovereign nations has never been anything but an armed truce in which the various parties to it have been preparing for the possibility of another war—they carry on their negotiations through the diplomatic representatives of the various states. A dispute is either settled voluntarily and peacefully, or there is the threat of force. If the threat fails, then actual warfare breaks out. And so our society is really one of raw jungle anarchy. The armament race and the power struggle is inevitable because military power is no protection to any nation unless it has more of it than any other nation has. This armament race is now going on—it started even before the Second World War ended. It is true we disarmed in terms of men, but in terms of research and the effective technological nature of

(Continued on page 24)

Even the State Department calls it "acceptable."

WORLD SOCIALISM

*By the Editors of
United Nations World **

A FEW weeks ago the State Department submitted to Congress a document in which it appeared to espouse a "cause" it was least expected to advocate. In the language of popular political science, it described socialism as an "acceptable" ideology and economic system—as long as it is confined to other countries. It invited American lawmakers to recognize it as "one of the major bulwarks against communism."

Although prompted by practical political considerations, the State Department document was still a matter of some astonishment. It was, no doubt, the widespread confusion about socialism, especially in its relation to communism, that motivated the State Department in its decision to prepare and release the document. In a sense it was the Administration's official answer to influential critics of its European Recovery Program. Most of the countries participating in the Marshall Plan are either run by socialist regimes or sustain socialists in their coalition governments.

At the present time, socialism is firmly established in the United Kingdom and in two members of the Commonwealth, Australia and New Zealand. If Nehru's personal political orientation is accepted as a criterion, the government of India also has strong socialist tendencies. Socialists rule either by themselves or in more or less precarious coalitions in virtually every country of Scandinavia and western Europe, except Spain and Portugal. They are the strongest political party in Japan and emerge as strong forces in all the genuinely liberated areas of Asia. Socialists dominate the governments of many Latin-American republics.

Virtually every one of these socialist groupings represents a different brand of socialism, reflecting socialism's oldest and greatest evil, the one single force that may eventually defeat it. Like Christianity, socialism branched out into innumerable sects of varying importance and influence. Marx's tenets represent no focal point in these deviations, as is popularly believed, but are actually deviations themselves. Socialism is much older than Marx. Today many so-called socialists or social democrats openly reject the Marxist ideas of class struggle, of seizure of political power by

* From the May, 1948, issue. Used with permission.

violent means, and especially the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Some of them attempted a fusion between socialism and Christian belief and emerged as Christian Socialists, provoking the wrath of Marx.

The focal idea of socialism is to convert into general benefit what was formerly the gain of the few. Socialism is opposed to the policy of *laissez-faire* in so far as it means little or no interference in private competition, and to mere regulation which steers clear of assuming initiative in production.

From the point of view of the forthcoming struggle, political socialism deserves closer scrutiny, if only because it is in the political sphere that the practitioners of socialism reveal their weakness. At a time when socialism is exposed to violent attacks from both extremes as well as from the displaced center, it fails to reveal that militancy which appears necessary to stave off its doom. As a result, socialism surrenders to pseudo or quasi socialists, including anarchists, nationalists, collectivists, nihilists, Bolsheviks and communists to whom attainment of power is often more important than socialist principles.

In one generation, socialism missed two great opportunities, chiefly because it lacked understanding of the importance of political power. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, overimpressed by the consequences of his craft, socialists usually shy away from using their power the moment they attain it. The German socialists who suddenly found themselves in complete power after World War I lacked the boldness to use it.

The socialists of Britain, now given another trial after two previous failures, don't quite know how to reconcile the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. The dilemma thus imposed upon them is not one of their own making. If the Attlee Government were unencumbered by the dubious inheritance of a declining empire, world socialism could gather around the Labor Government as Communists throughout the world now gather around the Soviet Government. But the encouragement and support which world socialism needs for its own good is not forthcoming from Britain. Although halfhearted attempts are being made by London to assume leadership of the socialist world, one step forward in this direction is usually followed by two steps backward under the burden of Britain's imperial commitments and big-power obligations.

Recent attempts to regain the socialists' lost militancy petered out in long and ineffective debates during several European Socialist congresses held in Switzerland, Belgium, and Britain. But those who profess concern for the future stability of the world and seem unafraid of social democracy agree that socialism continues to represent at least a promise.

THE INDIAN SUMMER OF HISTORY . . .

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Ten Steps to Strengthen Peace and Democracy

1. Stop using totalitarian methods at home which frighten our own people; and act as though we had faith in the strength of our democracy and a belief in the convictions of our own people.
2. Stop talking about opposing the spread of Communism and talk about the advantages of democracy. On the Russian side, stop infiltration into other nations and stop all efforts outside Communist states to spread Communism.
3. Plan an economic co-operation with eastern Europe as well as with western Europe and make it contingent on freedom of access for information and travel to all countries. Above all, speak frankly and truthfully to each other.
4. Get armies out of all occupied areas and leave qualified civilian setups to do the supervision and necessary work involved.
5. Make it plain that we are prepared to disarm and to do our proper share in strengthening the United Nations forces, as soon as a definite plan is reached for controlling atomic energy within the United Nations and for the inspection of all nations in exactly the same way.
6. Implement the Marshall Plan generously so that we will not be too late with too little.
7. Use every means in our power to make our own people understand that it is not a question any more of what is good for "me," but of what is good for the world.
8. Use every method to keep people strong physically, mentally, and spiritually in every nation.
9. Take such measures as will make for better distribution of available goods within our own country; keep prices down; employment up.
10. Improve our own democracy by wiping out racial and religious discrimination and by creating labor-management groups.

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TRYGVE LIE

What the UN Can Do

We must believe in peace now and we must work for it and fight for it with the same courage, skill, tenacity, and faith which gained us our victory.

1. War, with swords, spears, rifles, artillery, high explosives, gas, bacteria, or atomic rockets, is a futile, senseless, horrible business that can gain us nothing and that must be prevented for all time. It can and must be prevented by the collective will of the peoples, expressing itself through their national representatives in the councils of the United Nations.

2. Peace is a positive thing. A peaceful world must be a world in which men, women, and children everywhere can live decently. Accordingly, in seeking to preserve peace, we must work desperately to improve standards of human life through international collaboration. We must rack our brains and tax our ingenuity to devise means by which we can help those tens of millions of our fellow human beings who, today, live lives of impoverishment and desperation.

3. For the security from aggression that the United Nations promises to individual nations, it must demand

something in return from them. It must demand decent, enlightened conduct in both domestic and international relations. Local conflicts breed national conflicts, and national conflicts breed international conflicts. So we must discourage violence and oppression, wherever they may occur and on however petty a scale.

4. We believe, as a matter of principle and as the result of human experience in the past, that all nations—of all sizes, races, and traditions—can benefit materially and socially from working together as good friends. We believe that only benefit can result to those nations that contribute, freely and at the expense of individual self-denial on the part of their citizens, to relieve the distress of others. Loaves of bread on the tables of ten miserable families are certainly worth more than a beefsteak on the dinner table at home.

5. The United Nations was brought into being on the assumption that the powers would collaborate fully in maintaining the peace and in furthering the constructive work of the United Nations. We must proceed on the proposition that such collaboration can be secured and we must encourage it by every means at our disposal. For it is necessary to the peace and well-being of the world.

PREJUDICE IS SIN

—*a sin that will destroy civilization, says
JACQUES MARITAIN.*

—*a sin that can be broken only through re-
pentance, says REINHOLD NIEBUHR.*

REINHOLD NIEBUHR:

ALL this marshaling of scientific evidence for the essential equality of the races is perfectly good propaganda for the Christian idea of racial brotherhood. Yet there is something faulty with this scientific treatment of the race issue from the Christian standpoint. Most of our modern anthropologists assume that race bigots are ignorant of the facts of life; and that they have been confused by certain superficial differences in racial traits to assume the inferiority of the minority group. They will therefore spread propaganda to acquaint men with the latest results of scientific research. They would dispel race prejudice by increasing scientific enlightenment.

Since all forms of prejudice do feed on stupidity, and since a certain amount of emancipation from bigotry can be, and has been, effected by social enlightenment, there is no reason why the Christian Church should discourage such scientific propaganda. But it is unfortunate for the Church to content itself with this scientific assurance that "there are no inferior races." This is not

Christian Faith and the Race Problem *

sufficient because it does not measure the tragedy of racial bigotry deeply enough. Racial bigotry, like every other form of human pride and sin, is something more than ignorance and something less than malice; though the malice of actual sin may grow out of the predispositions of pride and contempt which lie at the foundation of racial bigotry.

Nor is it true that the sense of superiority of race rests primarily upon faulty premises that can be dispelled by scientific enlightenment. Very frequently the accusation of inferiority is actually a betrayal of insecurity in the face of the competition of the minority group. The Japanese were frequently hated on the West Coast because they are incredibly efficient truck gardeners; and white competitors veiled their envy and fear by various accusations. In the same way the intelligence of Jews in the competition of many colleges is feared; and the fear prompts accusations that the Jewish students are too clannish, or too

* Editor, *Christianity and Society*. From spring, 1945, issue. Used with permission.

pushing, or too indifferent to athletics or whatnot. The accusations may be plausible or implausible. They are sometimes plausible because minority groups may have special characteristics, derived from the defensive position in which they find themselves as minority groups. But the accusations may be prompted more by the fear of competitive superiority than by any real conviction of their inferiority.

When we consider the relation of the white man to the Negro, the depth of the predisposition from which bigotry is derived becomes apparent. The Negro people of this country were once slaves, and they are still subject to many forms of disinheritance. For this reason they are still "inferior" in many capacities and skills which they have not been allowed to acquire. This inferiority supposedly justifies the attitude of contempt of the majority in the eyes of those who exhibit the contempt. But even here the racial bigots give themselves away. When they are confronted by evidences of the Negro's superior gifts, as in the field of the arts, more particularly in music, they are filled with rage. Furthermore they betray a fear of the Negro's competition even while they pretend to despise his competitive competence. Most arguments against equal education for Negroes, for instance, are curiously inconsistent. It is claimed on the one hand that the Negro could not profit by these edu-

cational advantages; and on the other hand it is claimed that if he had equal educational advantages nothing would avail to keep him "in his place." Thus the majority group betrays its fears as well as its arrogance, and proves that hatred and contempt of the minority group is compounded of both insecurity and a false security. It is the false security of a particular kind of man (Gentile or white man or whatnot) who imagines himself the ultimate man and judges those who do not conform to his standard of beauty, culture, physiognomy, diligence, laziness, or any other characteristic which he ascribes to himself, for falling short of the ultimate of which he is the exemplar. But there is a certain insecurity here also. This ultimate man has a darkly conscious sense of the fact that he is not as ultimate as he pretends; and that the groups which he pretends to hold in contempt might actually beat him at his own game if he relaxed the restraints he has placed upon them.

We do not finally come to terms with race pride until the soul knows itself to be under final judgment, ceases to veil its hidden fears and prides, honestly prays: "Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting." Race bigotry, in other words, must be broken by repentance and not merely by enlightenment.

It cannot be said that religious repentance has done much to soften the power of prejudice. Scientific enlightenment, despite its weaknesses, has actually done more to dispel race prejudice than most religion. The liberal Church merely preaches ethnic good will. It is too simply moralistic to come to terms with the hidden power of sin in the lives of men. It preaches the law of Christ and insists that in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek." But it preaches this as a law which all men ought to obey. When confronted with the overt and covert defiance of that law it is overcome with a sense of futility.

The orthodox Church, on the other hand, particularly in the South, never allows the Gospel of Christ to become a cleansing force in the whole life of man. It has a simple little legalistic system of Christian morality and tries to convict men of sin because they have violated this system. It deals with sins, mostly picayune sins, and not with sin. Actually its Christian legalism with its strong emphasis upon Sabbath observance and upon a scrupulous sex ethic and its complete disregard of the hopes, fears, ambitions, and desires of men which create social, racial, and economic forces in society, is probably a partly conscious evasion of the moral problem involved in the race issue.

Let the Church, in dealing with

the race issue, avail itself of every measure of enlightenment that modern science, anthropological and psychological, can contribute to the issue. But let it not forget its own resources, or, rather, the resources of its Gospel. The Church knows, or ought to know, that though men may be incredibly stupid, the hatred and contempt which they exhibit in their lives springs from a deeper source than stupidity. The misery of man is derived from his idolatry, from his partly conscious and partly unconscious effort to make himself, his race, and his culture God. This idolatry is not broken until man is confronted with the real God; and finds his pride broken by the divine judgment; and learns that from this crucifixion of the old proud self, a new self may arise and that this new self has the "fruit of the Spirit" which is "love, joy, peace."

Racial conflict has become the most vicious of all forms of social conflict in this nation. And the racial tensions will become worse long before they will become better. The Church has been very busy telling the nation what to do about this. The Church might better try to present the national community with a greater number of truly contrite souls, truly "emancipated" of race prejudice who express their emancipation partly in the contrite recognition of the remnant of pride which remains in the souls of even the emancipated.

JACQUES MARITAIN: A Letter on Anti-Semitism*

SO LONG as a world that adheres to Christian civilization is not cured of anti-Semitism, it will drag with it a sin that will stand between it and recovery. For the Jews ever remain beloved for the sake of their forefathers, and it is the mystery itself of the economy of redemption—before which Paul fell to his knees—that racist hatred and prejudices attack. Nazism bared to our sight the true face of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism hides behind an infinite variety of masks and pretexts—but in truth it is Jesus Christ whom it seeks to strike, striking at his race.

Will the Christians understand? That is the question that now arises. How long still will they sleep? For how long still will many of them repudiate, in fact, Paul's teaching which instructs us that we have been grafted on the olive tree of Israel, and that we have become, with Israel, participants of the roots and the sap of that olive tree? "Spiritually we are all Semites," said Pope Pius XI. Before being a problem of blood, of physical life and death for the Jews, anti-Semitism is a problem of the spirit, of the spiritual life and death for Christians. It is a thing strangely moving, and highly conducive to our looking back upon our own past in a spirit of humiliation—

Christians of the Gentile race—to contemplate the sort of tragic serenity with which a Jew, who has meditated upon the history of his people, speaks to us his certainty that Israel will never find either rest or pity.

But there is something that the anti-Semitic fury wounds and irremediably corrupts, and that is the Christian conscience. The despair of those who killed themselves because injustice triumphed itself is an image of a thing still more terrible: the corruption of the human soul within those who persecuted, and the gulf of perversion into which they risk hurling the human race. If Plato and Thomas Aquinas are right when they say that it is better to suffer unjustly than criminally to make others suffer, and that the evil in the executioners is worse than the evil suffered by the victims, then we are obliged to conclude that the ravages caused by racism in the heart of the racists and the anti-Semites have been even more abominable than the tortures they inflicted upon a multitude of innocents.

In so far as a man yields to the prejudices of race and to that sort of modified anti-Semitism which, the while it deplores the massacres yet finds for them some excuse, and approves—with a transcendent political resignation to the doom of others

* Author, lecturer, Ambassador to the Holy See. From *The Commonwealth*, February 27, 1948. Used with permission.

—the laws, the customs, the habits of discrimination, and is all the more abject in that it takes shelter in good conscience, that man renders himself spiritually the accomplice of the demons whom the executioners obey. It is not only in order that the iniquity which weighs upon the innocents shall cease, it is also for its own salvation, and for the recovery of the world, that the Christian conscience must free itself of racist and anti-Semitic leprosy.

In many countries of the old and new world, anti-Semitism is growing; Hitler's lesson has made its way in men's minds. The old excuses are still available; we find a truly noble jealousy toward returned competitors (since not all the Jews are dead, those who remain, obviously, must live, and to live they must exert their professions, consequently Gentiles have nothing left to eat). We find such and such Jews taking part in political activities to which we object (as if they alone were responsible for such activities, and as if they alone made up the totality of Jews). People watch the Jews; and this oriented attention is in itself a psychological victory for racist propaganda and for the racist crimes.

As I brought out in another study, once you route in a certain determined direction people's attention, they will notice immediately, once their attention has thus been focused, all sorts of accidental data which serve as excuse for spontaneous sys-

tematization, no matter how absurd it may be. Repeat, using all the methods of intensive propaganda, that the inhabitants of Fifth Avenue are thieves, and other New Yorkers will end by noticing—how extraordinary—that such and such a citizen, of whom they have reason to complain, lives precisely on Fifth Avenue. And such and such another citizen, equally disliked, as a fact, does also. Meanwhile objectionable personages who annoy us in other regions of the city escape all notice, of course, since they are out of the visual range which has been fixed for us. At the end of a few months you will have been able to create an anti-Fifth-Avenueism as reasonable and as clearly confirmed as anti-Semitism.

The movement that is urging the survivors of the Jewish masses of central Europe, horrified by the abominations that they have suffered and haunted by the clamor of their dead, toward Palestine is a historical phenomenon—and it is irresistible. In one form or another and implying agreement (which in itself does not seem to be impossible) with the Arab inhabitants of the land, it appears that the solution of a Hebrew state in Palestine, inevitably, will be the next solution attempted by the angel of an ever-sorrowful and frustrated history.

However necessary and justified this solution may be, we must not hide from ourselves the fact that

it risks being exploited by anti-Semitism to the harm of the Jewish citizens of other nations. We shall have to make people understand that the existence of a Jewish state no more separates from their respective nationalities Jews who are members of other states, than the existence of an Irish state separates the Irish people in America from their American nationality. To cover anti-Semitic prejudices there will be a new crop of invalid pretexts, to add to the invalid pretexts that drag about every-

where, and we shall have to refute these new ones as we have the old. But the clearest rational arguments will never be effective since they face a collective and irrational psychosis drawing its strength from its very irrationality. That which is better and higher than reason, alone is capable of descending into the underground world of unreason, and of mastering it. The peculiar responsibility of the Christian conscience: it alone can free the soul from the poison of anti-Semitism.

CURRENT COIN *

A Parable for Modern Sinners

THERE is an old story, recorded in the Talmud, about the men of Sodom and Gomorrah. It is an attempt to explain why the Cities of the Plain were singled out for catastrophic destruction.

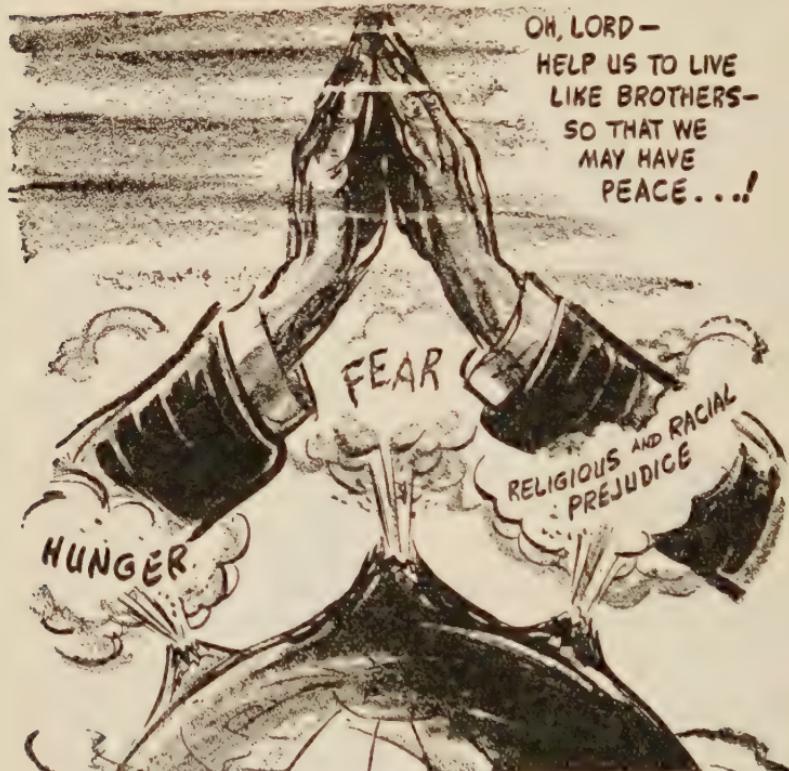
The citizenry of Sodom took pride in a municipal achievement of no mean magnitude. They had completely rid the metropolis of poverty and hunger by a simple but efficacious expedient. When a starving man came begging for food he was greeted cordially by every prosperous householder of the city—not only cordially, but generously. For at the door of each dwelling where he sought food for himself and his

hungry family, he was given, not a few paltry coppers, but a shining golden coin. Properly grateful and overjoyed, the unfortunate creature would hurry to the market place to buy bread, only to find that no one would sell him food of any sort. And so he might go from door to door gathering sympathetic words and golden coins, but no food for his belly, until he perished of starvation. Thereupon the wicked householders of Sodom would cluster around the body to reclaim their golden coins upon which they had had the foresight to engrave their names.

The rabbis of the Talmud were not concerned with the literal or historic truth of this folk tale. They retold it, rather, as a parable to point up the danger that confronts every civilization: the danger of its having advanced far enough to adopt a high moral code and not far enough to do more than render it lip service.

* From *Christian Friends Bulletin*, March, 1948. Used with permission.

A PRAYER FOR THE WORLD



The Sodomites of the story were unwilling to deny publicly the moral obligation of rendering assistance to a human being in distress, and so they gave their golden coins. But they were even more unwilling to make the sacrifice necessary to fulfill that obligation, and so they let the hungry man die.

Rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which we proudly offer to every American, are,

to members of some minority groups, merely the tantalizing "golden coins" which they cannot use to purchase the "bread" of equal opportunity in employment, housing, and education. We can cure our "American dilemma" by honoring these rights for every American citizen no matter what his color or creed or national origin may be, or be prepared, like Sodom, to take the consequences.

LOYALTY: BY-PRODUCT OF DEMOCRACY

*By CLIFFORD J. DURR,
of the Federal Communi-
cations Commission**

THE world today is threatened by the aggression of a totalitarian dictatorship. But we cannot safely assume that the source of our danger lies solely in any one nation, ruler, organization, or ideology. The name of the dictator is fear.

Its techniques are subtle and insidious. It paves the way for its conquest by sowing the seeds of suspicion and distrust among its intended victims. It makes alliances with insecurity wherever it can be found. In its program of confusion it makes skillful use of the guise of patriotism and the labels of freedom and democracy, and even of religion itself. It gives excited warnings of real dangers in order to gain credence for those of its own invention. It steals the symbols of deep-seated loyalties and uses them to serve its ends.

Once it has taken over, it enforces blind obedience to its commands. It demands conformity and silences protests. It confiscates all reason and jams the minds of its subjects so that they will be incapable of receiving any ideas or information in conflict with what it has decreed to be so.

It requires the surrender of moral and intellectual integrity. But it is not unmindful of the needs of its subjects. It graciously rewards their obedience by granting hatreds to them as a salve for their frustrations, and prejudices as a compensation for their sense of insecurity and inadequacy. It directs their attention upon the motes in the eyes of their neighbors lest they become too painfully aware of the beams in their own.

Fear and democracy have already embarked upon an all-out war for supremacy. The battleground is here as well as abroad. There can be no truce between them. One or the other must go down in defeat. They are too inconsistent with each other to exist side by side as equal sovereigns.

Democracy rests upon a faith in the fundamental decency and intelligence of men; fear proclaims their wickedness and stupidity. Democracy places its emphasis on the similarity of men to each other and the community of their needs, desires, hopes, and yearnings; fear emphasizes their differences. Democracy stresses neighborliness; fear stresses enmity. The way of democracy is education, free discussion, and the ballot; the way of fear is violence. Democracy feeds on confidence; fear

* From speech before National Citizens Conference on Civil Liberties, Washington, D. C., April, 1948.

feeds on fear. Democracy asserts the innate dignity of all men as children of a common Creator; fear denies it.

We have just come through the biggest and most destructive war the world has ever known. Our democratic institutions continued to function as we fought. They added to our strength and proved to be a most effective weapon against the enemy. Our nation is now physically stronger than it has ever been. Yet fear is again making us doubtful of the strength of those very institutions which have served us so well in the past.

We are seeking security in new conceptions of loyalty and in new standards for measuring it. We are frightened by new ideas and only the orthodox are deemed safe. New standards of Americanism are being laid down and new forms of punishment devised for their enforcement.

I doubt that the House Committee on Un-American Activities will show us the way to freedom and safety. I am equally doubtful that we shall find them in the "Loyalty Program" now under way in the Executive branch of our Federal Government, pursuant to the Executive Order of the President issued March 17, of last year. I would like to make it entirely clear that I do not speak for the agency of which I am a member. The views I shall express are entirely my own.

I am convinced that the evils of the order far outweigh any possible

good that can come from it. It has within it such potentialities of injustice, oppression, and cruelty that its administration will inevitably result in the alienation rather than the promotion of the loyalty of Government employees.

Loyalty is a condition of the mind and emotions and, in my opinion, is too subtle a matter to be measured by any such standards as those laid down in the order, or any which are likely to be laid down under it. I do not believe that men should be officially empowered to sit in judgment on the minds and emotions, or even the associations, of other men, and to judge them by tests short of overt acts or expressions tantamount to overt acts. Lacking any such objective tests, the guide followed will inevitably be the personal opinions and tastes of the judges. Any attempt to punish men for their state of mind or to force their mental processes and conclusions by intimidation rather than to persuade them by reason is as futile as it is wrong. The Government may punish or reward acts; it may command obedience; but loyalty has to be earned.

Even if men were given the wisdom always to know with certainty what ideas are good or bad, I doubt the efficacy of intimidation or oppression as a means of stamping out the bad. The expression of ideas may be temporarily silenced, but repression will not destroy them. The only effective weapon against bad ideas

is good ideas plus the demonstration of good ideas in action.

I am convinced that the end result of the Executive Order will be to endanger national security rather than to safeguard it. The order officially expresses a lack of confidence in the vigor and effectiveness of those "democratic processes" which it declares to be "the heart and sinew of the United States." It impairs rather than promotes loyalty by departing from those principles of freedom of belief and association and of fair play which, in a democratic society are, and should be, the basis on which loyalty is founded.

It tends to force all political, economic, and social thinking into orthodox patterns at a time when new and unorthodox ideas are desperately needed to cope with new and unorthodox problems. It creates an atmosphere hostile to reason, an atmosphere in which we may be dangerously misled into rejecting information of vital importance solely because it appears to conflict with accepted beliefs as to what is so. It treats rumor and gossip as evidence and shelters it from the test of examination. It defies basic religious teachings by giving protection and power to a group against which we are repeatedly warned in both the Old and New Testaments.

Even if every action proposed by the Executive Order could be sustained in the courts, I do not think that the Government should be a

party to the denial of basic Constitutional rights on narrow legalistic grounds. On the contrary, it seems to me that it should assume leadership in promoting the spirit of the Constitution as well as preserving its letter. Certainly the Federal Government should not resort to the use of economic and social sanctions to accomplish results which it is forbidden to accomplish through the use of political and judicial sanctions by the very terms of the Constitution. The end result of such a trend, once set under way, is to undermine the rule of law and to substitute for responsible representative government, government by arbitrary power, limited by no rule of law, and enforcing its edicts without regard to the courts, because it uses sanctions which the courts do not recognize.

Democratic government is based upon faith in people—in their innate intelligence and decency—upon a belief in their ability to shape a good destiny for themselves between the hammer and anvil of conflicting ideas, provided they are given full freedom to know and to discuss, to inquire and to explore, to experiment and to compare, to associate and to exchange their views one with another, and to protest when the occasion arises. This was the gamble which the founders of our government made with destiny. It was not the gamble of fearful men. It will not be won by fearful men.

For Time

The Brass Curtain A military and political alliance is mounting an all-out drive for UMT and the stopgap draft in the name of national security. The dangers revealed in this drive are appalling, for it employs wrong measures to force us down a fatal course. We do not question the sincerity of these public servants, but sincerity of purpose is no protection from the disastrous consequences of fatal choices. A patient may sincerely desire the restoration of his health, but if he mixes fatal doses of poison with his medicine, will his sincerity save him?

Perhaps most of us agree with our military leaders that Russian Communism is a serious threat to freedom. We are similarly concerned over the danger of Fascism. The danger about us is real. However, our greatest peril is that which "threatens also as the result measures designed to avoid that danger."¹ Methods are being used by our military and political servants that nullify democracy's fundamental tenet of the sovereignty of the people. Policies which disregard or circumvent the sovereignty of the American people must be renounced and the authority of the people restored. All who serve us must bear fealty to the faith that this is a "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The restoration of democracy means there will be less and less occasion made to decide policy in the "star chamber" and secret session. It will be marked by action honoring the right of the sovereign—the people—to have the facts free from censorship and warping propaganda. We the people must have the truth without which we cannot long continue free. Democracy cannot be defended by reducing or corrupting the stream of information which is the very lifeblood of democracy.

Secretary of Defense Forrestal has been working on the problem of security and freedom, seeking to establish, if possible, a "voluntary censorship" by the news agencies. Is censorship less odious because voluntary? Surely the press will not consent to this suggestion. If it does, the deal should be denounced as a conspiracy against the sovereign's (the people's) right to the facts. Government of the people by any agency or department that makes fateful decisions in secret sessions, giving the people only their opinions and their decisions, is not democratic. We the people are sovereign. We must have the facts on which we will make our own decisions—or we are not free men.

¹ Norman Angell, in *The Steep Places*.

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The submarine "sightings" incident with the delay and distortion in reporting by Secretary Sullivan; the propagandizing for UMT of the War Department, indicated as unlawful and improper by the Harness Commission yet persisted in by the Department, reveal a dangerous disregard for the principles and safeguards of democracy.

***Reservoirs
of
Good Will*** Wendell Wilkie returned from his trip around the world with the good news of the existence everywhere of reservoirs of good will for America. World reports now indicate that the level of good will in many nations is critically low—in some, exhausted—and in others, from the flood of hunger and misery, festering with animosity for the United States. Why is it that we no longer have a secure place in the affection of the nations of the world? The records shows we have given a goodly portion of our goods to the world. (Certainly not according to our ability and the world's needs, but still a good measure.) Unfortunately the record also reveals that the gift has not been marked by the quality of mercy. We have helped others because we feared and fought Russia in a cold war. ERP was conceived in a mixture of compassion and selfish fear. Factors of selfishness were tragically strong influences in the passage of the bill. There is danger that it will yet be dedicated to the proposition that economic support is a weapon against potential enemies rather than bread for the needy.

The demand for support of Italy rose impressively when we were most concerned about the threat of a Communist victory there. The genuineness of our concern for the welfare of the Italians was questioned when our representatives voted to aid Franco from ERP funds—Franco, "blood" brother of Mussolini and Hitler. What could this mean to Italians?

The Christian Church must reassert its influence and guard the nation against the continuation of this fatal betrayal of moral causes by immoral passions. If the nation acts wisely, from compassion, and as good stewards of nearly sixty per cent of the world's wealth, the need of the world will be met, the required ordering of our economy assured, and the advance of evil rolled back. For there is no strength in fear and violence that can stand before a resolute, free, humane, God-fearing society.

The reservoirs of the nations can be filled again with good will if America acts in faith and compassion.

Vera Micheles Dean*(Continued from page 4)*

of the ERP and the maintenance of our own standard of living. We are only beginning to see what the ERP is going to involve for the United States. The ERP is the most constructive project we have evolved since the end of the war. But since Russia refused to join the Marshall Plan, we have given little thought to resumption of trade between east and west in Europe. Most recently there has been tendency to say "let's ship nothing to Russia or to any of Russia's neighbors, for fear this will strengthen Communism." The trouble is that the over-all figures for the ERP were based on the assumption that there would be some resumption of trade between east and west. The State Department has been loath to point this problem out for fear that, if Congress realized it, it would also realize that the appropriations requested for the ERP would prove inadequate. For if east-west trade is not developed, the United States will have to provide additional financing either for increased purchases of food and raw materials here, or for development of alternative sources of supply, notably in Africa.

We must keep on strengthening the UN instead of letting it disintegrate. Russia has undoubtedly contributed to paralysis of the UN through over-use of the veto in the Security Council; but we too have weakened the UN through by-passing and backing

down on issues over which we had considerable control. The Palestine issue is an obvious one. And we have misrepresented to our own people the issue of the ERP in connection with the UN. For instance, some say that Russia would have vetoed the ERP had it been submitted to the UN. Actually we know the ERP would never have come before the Security Council, but before the Economic and Social Council and the UN European Economic Commission. In neither of those bodies does Russia have the veto; in both of those bodies the eastern European countries are represented, and in considerable measure Europe's recovery is due to the work accomplished in the first two postwar years by the technical commissions now integrated in the European Economic Commission of the UN.

A good deal of the discussion about Russia and the ERP has been based on the assumption that Russia opposes the recovery of Europe. In my opinion Russia does not oppose the recovery of Europe as such, and it has actually encouraged the recovery of several countries of eastern Europe. What it does oppose is economic recovery of the continent according to a pattern set by the United States, which Moscow believes, rightly or wrongly, would not permit the existence of planned nationalized economies like those of Russia and its neighbors.

What we finally get down to is

that both from the military point of view and the economic point of view all our calculations are effected by the possibility of reaching some kind of settlement with Russia, because it is about Russia we are thinking in terms of economic recovery.

The ERP will not be a very effective program if it is used merely as a weapon against Communism. More emphasis should be placed in the future on what ERP started out to be when it was first formulated by Secretary of State Marshall last June—a constructive program, not merely a weapon against Russia. The door should be left open to resumption of trade with eastern Europe.

The possibility now of new and more fruitful negotiations with Russia must be considered in this picture. It seems doubtful that any steps in that direction can be taken until after the November elections. For us this is bad. For in this interim period the Russians, if they really want to make more trouble for us, could take advantage of our preoccupation with elections. I am inclined to agree with Senator Taft that what has happened so far since V-E Day has been a consolidation of Yalta. Will the Russians go farther? No one can give a dogmatic answer to this question. I am inclined to think that they have gone about as far as they know it is reasonably safe to go, and therefore from now on a great deal will depend on what we do. Now we have the initiative again. Whatever negotia-

tion we may undertake with Russia in the future, they will test our patience, there's no doubt about that. Right now western Europe is our sphere; eastern Europe is Russia's sphere. And this existing balance of power will have to be fitted somehow or other into the UN framework. This is not as impossible as it sometimes sounds. Russia and the United States are still talking at many international gatherings where many issues of most fundamental character are under discussion, and each must perforce hear the other. It is important to keep on talking until the time comes for discussions about a long-range settlement.

The consensus of responsible opinion is that Russia is going to do everything it can to avoid war for the present time. What it plans to do ten or fifteen years from now no one can predict. I am assuming, however, that in ten or fifteen years we may all discover some way other than war to deal with the situation. The real issue we must consider immediately is that neither the ERP nor military preparedness will alone or together solve the dilemma of how to deal with Communists outside Russia by democratic means.

If we assume that in a democratic society everybody should have the right to discuss, and put pressure on people to vote a given way, and go to the polls, and so on, then we are in a very great dilemma if Communists in any country win enough votes to

claim participation in government. And that is a dilemma we have not really tried to think through as a nation. What shall we do with Communists? Shall we drive them underground, or kill them, to prevent them from participating in political life?

The ERP is a very powerful weapon in bringing Italy and other countries to our side, but it will not keep them at our side unless we, for our part, show more understanding and more sympathy for their basic economic and social problems, which create a soil for the growth of Communism. That means that we have to renovate our whole approach to the peoples of Asia, Latin America, the Near East, and the devastated countries of Europe.

This, in turn, means that we may have to be more favorable to socialism abroad than we have been in the past. I wish we had done it from free choice right after V-E Day. But at least we may come to agree with the Pope, who on the eve of the Italian elections said there could be no return to rugged individualism, and that some form of voluntary socialism would have to be accepted. The Churches here have always indicated sympathy for the poor, the hungry, and the oppressed. Now we must realize that, outside the United States at least, some form of socialism is going to be the pattern of our times. Premier Spaak, of Belgium, says that today the answer to Communism is socialism, not reaction.

Cord Meyer, Jr.

(Continued from page 5)

Now the UN, when it was formed in San Francisco, didn't change the structure one iota. The UN was an agreement between the large nations to agree when they were able to agree. Lacking that agreement there was nothing it could do: it was given neither power nor authority; it could arrive at no decision in any case involving the big five; and on those rare occasions when it was able to arrive at a decision, it was completely without the power to enforce that decision. In San Francisco I saw the United States and Russia and Britain fighting side by side to make the UN even weaker than the League. Correspondents and Congress obscured the fact that the big five had not been able to agree on a structure that could protect them against each other, and therefore they were compelled, by the anarchic nature of international society, to continue to prepare for war with each other.

The United States and Russia are the only two countries that really have any hope of winning the third war; they are the only real threat to the security of each other. Rather than ideological reasons or differences between economic systems, the basic cause of conflict today has been the existence of these two large, heavily armed sovereign units capable of waging war at a moment's notice—each of them forced to rely

on a continuing arms race for their protection against the other.

The best scientific information seems to indicate that other industrialized countries will have their own atomic weapons within six months to six years. Biological weapons and chemical weapons are already available to other nations in quantity, we know that; and that long-range aircraft are not our exclusive monopoly today. From these facts we can reason that the United States is today capable of destroying completely the urban and industrial society of any nation that it chooses to attack, together with the noncombatants. And that soon other countries will be capable of doing that same thing to us, and that there is no defense whatever. Both the informed military and the scientists are in agreement—no defense is possible.

They present us with only a very limited number of choices. In the first place there is the choice that is called "preventive war." The argument is heard that we should now use our atomic bombs to destroy the Russians before they get any bombs. This position is held by men of considerable authority in Washington, although it isn't always put as bluntly as I put it here. The moral arguments against preventive war are perfectly clear to you gentlemen; and the practical ones are just as decisive. The bombing of the Russian cities would be merely the starting of the war, not the end of it. I doubt

whether we could take the Eurasian land mass—it has never been done by men before. We would lose in the process some ten millions of our people and we would have a devastating counterattack at home. If we did win, we would have to establish absolute dictatorship to make sure that in no corner of the globe was there secretly being constructed for use against us the weapons that we originally used. I tend to agree with the previous speaker that the effect of the United States waging such preventive war would be to throw vast numbers of men into the Communist camp.

A second policy that is advocated is that of appeasement, to which I am opposed. I feel that if you're living in a sovereign state world, in a jungle world, of the heavily armed sovereign nations, that your nation has got to continue preparing for the possibility of war. But I think that preparation can be done without belligerence, in a restrained manner.

Yet, I also believe that preparedness alone is no answer whatever. It cannot prevent war, and it cannot protect the people of the country if war comes. I don't think that people have really understood yet what modern preparedness means in view of the nature of our weapons. All you can do is to be sure that after you've lost 40 million people you can do the same thing to the opposition. Such measures will result in the creation of a totalitarian military garrison state in this country. I don't

believe that either the living standards of the country or the civil liberties or the practice of democracy could survive. So I say that preparedness is no answer. If we take these measures, other countries have to take the same measures. They also are sovereign nations; they know that the only protection they have is military power, so they take the same steps of preparedness and you have a chain reaction of mutual fear and distrust, until sooner or later one side or the other attacks. That kind of chain reaction is now well under way and moving so fast it's questionable how much time we do have.

I think the only thing that can be done is for the United States to step forward immediately with a proposal for strengthening the UN; for the transformation of that structure from a weak league of heavily armed sovereign states into a federation with effective power to keep the peace, based on enforceable law. Such a proposal can be introduced through article 109 of the charter, under which a general conference for the review and revision of the charter can be called by a two-third vote.

The actual changes that are necessary can be briefly outlined. The UN, for example, has got to be given the power to make and enforce law on the individual. We've got to give up the idea that we can coerce entire nations. We need a structure of enforceable law defining individual guilt. We have to have behind that

law a court system of compulsory jurisdiction, and an inspection system operating in every country, manned by competent scientists and technicians to make sure that prohibited and illegal armament is not being secretly manufactured. We would need a world police force built up gradually as the nations themselves are disarmed, in a stage process verified by inspection. This would mean shifting the responsibility for national defense from the separate Governments to a common authority operating under law, with the power to enforce that law.

That is the price of peace. The choice is not whether we're going to have some kind of world-wide control, because I think one can predict with assurance that within a decade the world will be politically organized as one unit. The only question that remains is to decide how it will be organized and what kind of government it will be. Will it be a federation, agreed to by peaceful consent, through which we are able to divert the vast resources of modern science to the needs of constructing and sustaining life? Or will it be an empire established by an atomic and biological war, killing, as Einstein has warned, a third to a half of the human population and ushering in an age of ignorance and brutality? It seems to me that is our choice and that Christians have an overwhelming responsibility as to which choice is made.

“God So Loved the World”

*By George L. Thomas **

THE day was warm. The summer sun seemed to be urgently asking the return of the encouragement granted to the earth by April showers, for the caterpillar in his slow hunching and leveling process felt the rush of humid air pushing upward past him. The caterpillar was in no hurry to reach the great oak where he would feast upon its large, juicy leaves. Perhaps it was because the great oak had perfected mass production and, there being enough goods for all the caterpillars wishing to use its services, no one was panicky.

The gentle summer wind seemed to sway the grass in unison with the humping and straightening movement of the caterpillar. Suddenly the caterpillar stopped with his middle hunch. He eyed a hole in the ground directly in front of his nose—an opening too small to permit his entry. His keen sense to sound told him there was activity down there somewhere.

“Hey, down there,” he shouted, as he slowly pushed his rear half backward to a prone position, his nose hanging over the edge of the opening. His voice echoed with hollowness as it bumped against the earthen walls in its downward plunge.

“Who calls?” It was a small, shrill voice that replied.

“It is I, the caterpillar. And tell me, what is all the commotion down there?”

“We are hard at work,” came the reply, “but we had no idea we were disturbing anyone. We always work as quietly as possible.”

“Work? What kind of work can be done there—oh, perhaps you are building a nest?” the caterpillar suggested.

“Nest? Oh, no,” the voice replied. “We really have no need for a nest. Once we start a job we work until it is finished. After that we are, of course, no longer necessary—or at least such has been so in the past.”

“You build no nest? You continue working at a task until it is completed—and after that?”

“Well, you see, our job is that of consuming, and once the object of our effort is consumed we are through. We are not a migrating people. But here, I am answering your questions and know absolutely nothing of you.”

“I am known as a caterpillar. While I am looked upon by many as an ugly creature, I nevertheless hold the secrets of the butterfly, commonly accepted as a thing of beauty. My body is furry and I live on vegetation.”

“We who are down here,” mused the voice, “know nothing of what it is like up there. We are born; we live and die at the scene of our task. It is said that most of the jobs we get are surface creatures. Somehow I have a sense of living through thunderous times—tell me, is it quiet up there?”

“Yes,” replied the caterpillar, “it is now. You are perhaps right about the noise.”

“Interesting,” the voice said. “Somehow I seem to be a part of it.”

“Oh, I know absolutely nothing of it personally,” the caterpillar hastily replied, “but I did overhear two of those creatures called men talking here yesterday almost on this very spot. They were recalling their part in what some proudly called “blood, sweat, and tears.”

* Special assistant in Christian Policy Program of the Division of Social Education and Action; on two months' leave of absence from Portland, Oregon, Council of Churches, where he is Director of the Division of Social Relations.

"Tell me something of their talk," urged the voice. "It may help me to see my place more clearly in its relation to this universe."

"Well, they spoke of how they never expected to get out of that hell alive. One of them remembered how his friend had the lower part of his body blown completely away—they called him Tim, I believe."

"Oh!" gasped the small voice.

"What is it?" asked the caterpillar.

"Oh, nothing," replied the voice. "I just have a clue to my identity."

"You puzzle me," the caterpillar said. "You mean you don't know who you are?"

"First finish your story," begged the voice, "and then we shall talk of me."

"Well," continued the caterpillar, "their talk went on for some time in that way. They recalled old friends—remembered narrow escapes. They talked of the future."

"Yes?" the voice said anxiously. "In that I am most interested."

"They spoke of a new energy that man had discovered which might be used for destruction or for bettering man's condition," said the caterpillar. "They had used it to end the conflict, I gathered. This terrible thing was dropped from the sky and spread its terror over wide areas, killing and maiming all life. They talked of having made this thing even more destructive. They also said that new things are now known and will be used to destroy life. From their talk I would say that man is now experiencing a recess from war. I remember one thing they said—one of them said, 'This time nobody will be left'—and the other one, 'God must be awfully impatient with man.'"

"Ah, then there is hope," sighed the voice.

"Eh, what's that?" the caterpillar was jerked slightly upward in his middle by surprise.

"Oh, nothing," hastily replied the voice. "Tell me, did they say much about—well, about God?"

"No-o-o," said the caterpillar in deep thought. "not much. Now tell of yourself."

"We are a product of death," the voice said, "But we who are created by the death of man feel strangely important."

"You mean that someone has to die to give you life?" asked the caterpillar, revealing his confusion.

"That is right," answered the voice. The caterpillar thought he detected a little eagerness in the voice now—or was it hope? "We consume that which died. When you spoke of Tim awhile ago—I discovered that it could be I am a part of Tim."

"But what happens to you when you have consumed?" asked the caterpillar.

"That is just it," came the voice in a thoughtful tone. "We disintegrate and become flies that live but for a short time and then are no more."

"Is that so?" the caterpillar was surprised. "Now we become butterflies and from their eggs caterpillars again are born, and thus the cycle goes. But you—you just die."

"Yes," the voice said, "we just die. But from what you say it may be that we should have hope! If you could see how man has treated man! We see them down here—mutilated, torn, shattered—all this to you I suppose would be unbearable—but to us it is a task—and now a hope. Strange how I seem to have been a part of it all! I wonder—"

"You wonder what?" The caterpillar was obviously disturbed.

"Wait a minute," said the voice. "I am coming up."

The caterpillar slowly backed a short distance from the hole. He was interested

in seeing what his friend looked like, but he was disturbed by his excitement over death. Presently a small white form emerged from the hole and lay panting on the earth's surface.

"It is a strange warmth up here—and yet I have the feeling of having lived in it before. Perhaps because I live within what I consume."

The caterpillar backed away a bit farther. This was most strange and disturbing.

"Is it possible that we would come to know longer life—and perhaps to inherit all this?"

"Friend, you do not make your meaning clear," said the caterpillar.

"Oh, I am sorry," said the worm. "I have only a short while to live before I give way to the flies within me. I told you my task was consuming, and that after we had consumed we were no more. I hope that this may not always be so, but I see only one possibility of its ever being different. I feel some strange kinship in man's relation to God—again it may be because, before its death, we are a part of the thing we consume. I feel that God will not allow His plan for a Kingdom of peaceful, loyal subjects on earth to be frustrated—not even by man. Now man has discovered the means by which he can destroy all life—vegetable and animal. At the same time man has not concerned himself too much with those values which would make for peace and harmony. Rather, he has sought power—even at times challenging the power of God—he has laughed at hunger, been blind to sickness—in fact, he has just made a mess of things. But God will have His Kingdom in spite of man's folly. I am sure that through His love for man God would want to keep something of man's spirit in the picture as He plans for His Kingdom."

The caterpillar stirred. This newly found acquaintance was a queer one. He seemed to be filled with hope while facing his own death. But the caterpillar did not speak.

"Well," the worm went on, "God's purpose cannot be defeated. With all life destroyed, who then will God have? US! We, the consumers of men. We who slept in silent hope within the living man—awakening to consume him in his eternal silence—will find ourselves in favor with God. We will have knowledge of man's mistakes—and the echo of man's highest hope that there will be no strife because of race, language, color, or country. We are the inheritors of the flesh. We are God's hope for the world."

"But how can this be if, after you have consumed, you die?" asked the caterpillar.

"If man persists in his folly, we shall be the last living thing. God's love for man is real. I may yet consume and live," answered the Maggot.

*There is that within us, not of the flesh
But of the Spirit, that stirs with hope.
The rumblings of all our yesterdays—
With the mistakes and successes,
The tears and laughter
The pain—the joy—
Struggle to become a part of today
And of all our tomorrows,
That men may see their choices more clearly
And guided by the living Spirit,
Choose more wisely. If only man would
—be still!*

Sanctuary

Let This Mind Be in You

*"What I command you to do is to love one another. If the world hates you, remember that it hated me first. If you belonged to the world, the world would love what was its own. But it is because you do not belong to the world, but I have selected you from the world, that the world hates you. . . . If they have persecuted me they will persecute you too. . . . I have told you this to keep you from faltering. They will exclude you from their synagogues; why, the time is coming when anyone who kills you will think he is doing religious service to God."*¹

Boy in Armour

We are your sons and we are ghosts. We came
To love, to labor, and to know. We died
Before we loved, before we learned to labor,
Before we knew more than the fairy tales
You murmured to beguile our puzzled ears.
You cried across the worlds, and called us sons.
We came as sons, but what you made of us
Were bleeding shapes upon an altar, slain
To appease your sodden idol where he sits
Muttering dead words and chewing at old bones.

Because you would not think, we had to die!
We have been loyal. We have fought for you,
And suffered of the cold, and starved for you,
And miserable laid our bodies down
Before your idol, while the incense rose.
Weep not for us, but for your own trapped souls.
We died. And there you stand, no step advanced.
And, after all,² when you have set more millions
Beside our millions, and beside them yet
More millions of brave fellows who die well,
You still will have to wake some day—and think.

We dead keep watch. You shall not sleep nor rest.
We died. And now you others who must live

¹ From John, chs. 15; 16, *The Complete Bible: An American Translation*, edited by J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar J. Goodspeed. Published, 1939. Reprinted by permission of The University of Chicago Press.

Shall do a harder thing than dying is—
For you shall think. And ghosts shall drive you on.²

Hymn: O young and fearless Prophet of ancient Galilee:
Thy life is still a summons to serve humanity,
To make our thoughts and actions less prone to please the crowd,
To stand with humble courage for Truth with hearts uncowed. . . .
O help us stand unswerving against war's bloody way,
Where hate and lust and falsehood hold back Christ's holy sway;
Forbid false love of country, that blinds us to His call
Who lifts above the nation the brotherhood of all.³

Litany: Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house
of the God of Jacob.
And he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths.
And he will judge between many peoples, and will decide con-
cerning strong nations afar off.
*And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their
spears into pruninghooks.*
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation.
Neither shall they learn war any more.
They shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant
vineyards, and eat the fruit of them.
*They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant,
and another eat.*
They shall not labor in vain, nor bring forth for trouble;
*They shall not hurt, nor destroy, in all my holy mountain, saith
the Lord.⁴*

Prayer: For Honest Minds

*In times of doubts and questionings, when our belief is perplexed by new learning,
new teaching, new thought, new experiences, and when our faith is strained by confusion
and mysteries beyond our understanding, give us, O Lord, the grace of humility, and
the spirit of the open mind; give us the courage to examine, and a prevailing confidence
in the power of the truth; give us patience and insight to persist in the face of dif-
ficulties; give us the tenacity to hold fast to the voice of time as over against the voice
of the moment, to follow the well-worn paths with enlightened interpretations, and
receive new knowledge that it might be combined with the old; and above all, quicken
in us an unerring instinct that forever reaches out after Thee. Amen.⁵*

² From "Boy in Armour," by Hermann Hagedorn. Used with permission.

³ Words used by permission of S. Ralph Harlow.

⁴ From devotional booklet of Religious Fellowship of Philadelphia.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Christian Citizenship

Selective Service and UMT. Bills are still being worked on in committees for peacetime conscription. Public hearings are concluded and Secretary of Defense Forrestal and his associates have been recalled on several occasions as the committees try to discover both the real necessity for a larger preparedness program and what program our defense heads have agreed upon. Each week an answer is promised to each question and each week ends without the answer. This situation has led to statements, from Senators and Congressmen alike, that the secrecy is more psychological than real, and that the defense services seem unable to agree among themselves as to needs.

Historically, Congress has been the body to declare a state of war. This prerogative is now courted by the defense chiefs who are stating publicly that "we think now that you have to contemplate the possibility of war."

The Federal Council of Churches renounced the false dependence upon force as a means of solving the ideological conflicts abroad. A statement on "Positive Program for Peace" was issued following a meeting in New York, April 26, 1948.

Committee copies of the UMT and selective service bills being considered indicate the far-reaching manner in which the military will have complete domination of the lives of our citizens for years to come if they are passed. Since these bills are not out of committee, we cannot report on the contents, but we do urge you to write your Congressmen and Senators to send you copies as soon as available.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements (H. J. Res. 335). This resolution would extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in its present form for three years. The present act expires June 12. Individual letters to your Congressmen are important on this issue. There is a move to extend the act

for only one year, which is far too short a period for adequate operation.

Easy-to-read leaflet, *Trade Agreements*, is available in quantity from Women's Action Committee, 1 E. 57th Street, New York 22.

Survey by Citizens' Committee for Reciprocal World Trade shows that forty-six national business, farm, labor, and citizen organizations already back three-year extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Total membership of these organizations is approximately 33,000,000. And the list is growing each week!

National organizations opposing the extension of RTA in its present form are National Grange, American Tariff League, American Products Council, National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation, wool and fur interests, and nine fruit and nut growers' and processors' associations.

The record of benefits from Reciprocal Trade Agreements is available from Fred Christoph, Chamber of Commerce of the U. S., Washington 6, D. C., for Calif., Ill., Ind., Iowa, Kans., Ky., Mass., Mich., Minn., Mo., N. J., N. Y., Ohio, Pa., Tex., Wash., Wis.

New State . . . Senate hearings on Alaskan statehood were concluded yesterday before Interior and Insular Affairs Committee with testimony including that of Undersecretary of Interior Chapman.

No date has yet been set by the committee for action on the measure.

Civil Rights . . . Antilynching legislation will be first of Civil Rights Program legislation to reach Senate floor, under decision of Republican membership.

Floor debate will not come until after action on whatever Armed Services Committee reports out on universal military training or selective service. Prospects for antilynching coming to floor, therefore, appear to be about end of May.

Leaders are expecting what they term

"extended debate" but say that cloture motion stands better chance now than any other time.

One factor, they say, leading to choice of antilynching as first step, was belief that it would be easiest to get through. Whether they go ahead on the civil rights program, they add, depends on outcome of this measure.

Bills are S. 1352 and H.R. 3488. See May issue of SOCAL PROGRESS for other civil rights bills. S. 984—Anti-Discrimination is still the basic bill of the group. Indications seem to be that antilynching has been chosen since something in this list of bills must be passed for political reasons. Passage of the entire list would be a big step forward in making democracy strong at home.

Un-American report . . . Four-point attack on Communist problem is recommendation of Nixon subcommittee of House Un-American Activities Committee. Bill which subcommittee wrote would:

Make illegal "knowing and willful advocacy of the overthrow of the U. S. Government, by any means, for the purpose of subverting interest of U. S. to that of a foreign Communist power."

Require registration of Communist-front organizations. Responsibility for such registration would be on officials of organizations involved.

Deny Government jobs to members of Communist Party. Officials employing person who they know or have "reasonable ground" to believe are members of party would be penalized.

Deny passports to members of Communist Party. This is designed to weaken foreign connections of party.

Also recommended by committee are:

Annual registration of aliens with Justice Department, strict reciprocity in granting of visas and in treatment of aliens from Communist-dominated countries; raising penalty for contempt of Congress; strengthening of espionage laws; consideration by state legislatures of legislation

barring from state employment and employment in public schools Communist Party members. (From *Congressional Daily*, April 10, 1948.)

Housing. S. 866, Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, passed the Senate by a voice vote following defeat of the Stassen forces in the Senate who led the fight to eliminate the public housing sections. The General Assembly has been on record since 1910 for slum clearance. It is important now to write your Congressman urging that this bill be passed by the House and that public housing be included.

Displaced Persons. H.R. 6163 and S. 2822 still remain in committee as we go to press. Your own Congressmen and Senators can be influential in getting these bills reported to the floor and passed.

Expand the coverage of the insurance program to over 20 million workers and their families not now covered, including self-employed persons, farmers and farm workers, household employees, Government employees, members of the armed forces, and employees of nonprofit institutions.

Nearly double the average benefits paid under the insurance program on the theory that the Government "should make sure that all members of the community have at least a basic measure of protection against the major hazards of old age and death."

Raise the taxes on employers and employees for financing the program from one per cent on each to one and one half per cent. For both contribution and benefit purposes, the first \$4,200 instead of the first \$3,000 of earnings would be counted. Self-employed, including farmers, would pay two and a quarter per cent.

The only employees left out of the system, under the Council's recommendations, would be clergymen and members of religious orders, and, temporarily, Federal workers now covered by civil service retirement and railroad employees covered by the railroad retirement system.

About Books

All Manner of Men, by Malcolm Ross. Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc. \$3.50.

This is a fascinating, scholarly book about the pressing need for our country to pass legislation setting up a "fair employment practice commission with clearly defined power to enforce equality of economic opportunity for all Americans."

Past history and recent history are intermingled in this book as a detailed, personalized account and analysis of FEPC's struggles to operate effectively without legislative sanction, as well as to defend itself from the intolerant and emotionally prejudiced. Specific cases handled by FEPC, the successes and failures of this agency, are given with vivid descriptive detail, and even with a graphic formula to illustrate the elements needed to bring about the successful conclusion to a case.

Again and again Mr. Ross makes clear that at the bottom discrimination arises out of economic causes and that the arguments of social superiority, white supremacy, and sectional traditions are emotional camouflages for economic fear of job competition and of lowering standards of living. In discussing the Southern attitude on white supremacy, he points out that equal opportunity for employment does not affect the freedom to choose one's social acquaintances. "White and Negro workers are now and have been for decades under the same plant roofs in the South. It is not the working associations to which whites object. It is the sharing of skilled wage rates."

It is natural that the book is concerned mainly with the matter of discrimination against Negroes since 80 per cent of the appeals to FEPC came from that group, whereas discriminations because of creed amounted to 6 per cent and concerned mainly Jewish workers. The remaining 14 per cent reported themselves unfairly treated because of their national origin,

and most of these were Mexican Americans.

Mr. Ross not only analyzes the underlying economic causes of discrimination but also attempts to understand why liberals, believing in the principle of equal job opportunity, differ sharply among themselves as to the merits of strong legislation on this issue.

It seems clear that it is Malcolm Ross's opinion that years of concern for and close living to the problems of workers brings an attitude of willingness to take positive action—bold action—in order that all manner of men may learn to live together in peace.

REBECCA SMALTZ

The Protestant Church and the Negro, by Frank S. Loescher. Association Press. \$3.00.

This is an objective sociological survey of the pronouncements and practices of the Churches in America. Dr. Loescher does not praise or condemn—he has gathered the evidence; we must render the verdict.

Although the statistics indicate very little fellowship with Negroes in Churches and denominational colleges, the pronouncements of national bodies give evidence that "over the past forty years Protestantism has become sensitive to America's race problem." The liberal leadership of the Church has made "revolutionary progress," says Dr. Loescher, whereas the local Church (where the crux of the situation lies) has not yet become "a dynamic agency in the integration of American Negroes into American life."

Dr. Loescher suggests that the national offices should employ skilled educators and social scientists to discover the most effective methods of implementing denominational pronouncements.

A. J.

Is God in There?, by Charles Tudor Leber. Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.50.
Church, Law and Society, by Gustaf Aulén. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.00.

Here are two books on much the same subject by quite different authors. The books both deal with the relation of the Church to society, the Church's responsibility for the world in which we live.

Dr. Leber is secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. His official duties require him to visit various parts of America and the countries of the world in which the Board conducts its work. Much of his book was written, he tells us, "on trains, and planes, in railroad stations, at airports, and in hotel rooms." He gets the title of the book from the inquiry of a little child who stood at the door of a church and asked a man about to enter, "Mister, is God in there?"

The question of Dr. Leber is, Is God in the Church? Is the power of the Church sufficient to save the world? He expresses a concern, encourages an inventory, and sounds a call to action. His book is full of hope based on faith. The book is entertaining in style, full of stories and illustrations gathered from widely scattered sources.

Bishop Aulén is well known in theological circles as the author of *Christus Victor*, which appeared in 1931, and is an outstanding representative of the Swedish theological movement known as the Lundensian School."

The book contains the Hewett lectures delivered in America in 1947. A professor of Church history, after hearing one of the lectures, remarked, "Bishop Aulén has thrown historic Lutheranism clear out the window." His attitude on the responsibility of the Church for the moral and spiritual welfare of the state is almost Calvinistic. This, Nels Ferré, in his introduction to the book, finds significant in view of the approaching meeting of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam. He thinks it indicates that Lutherans and Calvinists

can get together. Bishop Aulén, far from renouncing Lutheranism, claims that he is setting forth the real views of Luther concerning the relation of the Church to Society.

The place of the word "law" in the title is intended to indicate the function of law as a "link between Church and Society." Law he conceives of, not as a collection of fixed rules, but "as a dynamic, as a force working everywhere in human life."

In the realm of redemption, Bishop Aulén recognizes that the "Gospel abolished the law . . . but only there, the law of justice remains applicable and active in all other realms of life."

JOHN F. LYONS

Stranger in the Earth, by Thomas Joseph Sugrue. Henry Holt and Company, Inc. \$4.00.

Unlike most autobiographies, *Stranger in the Earth* is the story of a human soul as it grows from "unconsciousness to self-consciousness to super-consciousness." It is a story of Thomas Sugrue's own life—not in terms of dates and events, but in the language of a winding stream of consciousness. One lays down the book with a feeling of tenderness for the author.

Following an unusual pattern, the book relates the author's thoughts and memories while he is undergoing artificial fever treatments. His conversations with the imaginary professor are amusing but sometimes tiresome. The remembered experiences of his own growing are strikingly beautiful by contrast. In fact, there is such power in the story of the boy and "Joseph" in search of God, that one wishes it could have been told with greater simplicity.

Some of the most sensitive writing describes Sugrue's feelings as a boy for the world around him. "Joseph and I did our best. We knew that God existed outside of the world into which He had, for an as yet undiscovered reason, pushed us. That

He was in the world Himself we did not know. We had been told otherwise; everyone said He was in heaven. His handiwork was obvious—the stars, the snowflakes, the grass, the rain, the drifting clouds that importuned us to follow them. We knew that we belonged to Him; that relationship we understood better than those who told us about it. He wasn't at all the way they described Him. But why He had made the world and why He wanted people to live in it we did not know."

Thomas Joseph Sugrue is a mystic. Perhaps only other mystics can fully comprehend his story.

MRS. JOHN PRIDEAUX

The Steep Places, by Norman Angell. Harper & Brothers, publishers \$3.00.
Peace or Anarchy, by Cord Meyer, Jr. Little, Brown & Company. \$2.50.

The United States and Russia, by Vera Micheles Dean. Harvard University Press. \$3.00.

Be sure that these three books are on your "required reading list."

Norman Angell, Nobel prize winning author of *The Great Illusion* has in *The Steep Places* revealed the grave danger that threatens our Western civilization, and also indicated the course we must pursue if we are to escape destruction. "The better understanding between peoples" essential to security begins with better understanding of ourselves. His examination of power politics, imperialism, the British Empire, socialism, capitalism, and communism is an important contribution to that understanding. The author believes it is possible for people who profoundly disagree to get along together—that it is possible for us to learn to live in peace by agreeing to differ. The "inevitable conflict" of capitalism and socialism is repudiated by appeal to the fact that our economies are a mixture of both "free enterprise" and government action.

Mrs. Vera M. Dean has written the fourth book for the American Foreign Policy Library, edited by Mr. Sumner Welles. Mrs. Dean has done an important piece of responsible, instructive writing on Russia: the land, the people, the political system, Russia as a world power, and Russian-American relations. The author reveals a balance that is supported by her broad knowledge of the subject. The book is crowded with facts that are relevant and alive. The dangers inhering in the differences between the nations are not waived aside, but the author makes a convincing case for her conclusion that it is possible for the United States and Russia to fight side by side as peace-time allies.

Cord Meyer, Jr., wounded in his service with the Marines, aide to Commander Stassen during the formation of the United Nations Charter, cannot forget that we live in the atomic age. The reader of his book will never be able to forget that in this atomic age "there is no defense" in unilateral appeal to armaments. Mr. Meyer's goal is world security through a strengthened United Nations. The book reveals the fatal mistake of all those who try by arms and armaments under the anarchy of national sovereignty to gain peace. The author makes a strong case for a limited world government which denies to national governments the right and means to make aggressive war. The provision of power for the world government sufficient to secure its purpose yet not great enough to establish it as a super state is carefully studied under "A Plan for Survival."

The works of these three authors place them among the "peacemakers." Their acquaintance with and regard for the facts give them a place of honor among genuine "realists." The hope which they convey gives them a right to be heard among Christian idealists, devoted to courageous action.

P.N.P.

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Frank S. Loescher

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